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The Shape of Things

MUSSOLINI'S resignation means the end of the Axis. The war in Europe will go on, but it will be Hitler's war. Italy is finished. Not all the bombast about its "sacred soil" or its "given word" can conceal that fact. Italy may go through the motions of continued resistance for a while, but no one can doubt that Mussolini resigned so that the King could lead Italy out of the war.

When Hitler, at his recent meeting with Mussolini, refused to invest more divisions in the Italian campaign, the Fascist dictator could neither carry on the war successfully nor end it. The only hope for a negotiated peace or a surrender which might lead to an "honorable peace" lay in Mussolini's resignation. Whether he quit voluntarily or was forced out, he had no other choice. A dictator facing certain defeat is already a dead duck.

The resignation of Mussolini is a mighty blow to the whole system of terror he inaugurated. Its political results may be more valuable to the Allied cause than its military effect. The important thing is to capitalize on it quickly and by methods which the people will understand. Now, at the moment when the prestige of fascism is at its lowest, is the time to make the distinctions sharp and final. The House of Savoy has supported the Fascist regime for twenty-one years. It is compromised beyond redemption in the eyes of all anti-Fascist Italians. Marshal Badoglio, in spite of his occasional differences with Mussolini, served gladly in the indefensible war against Ethiopia. He is known for his wanton brutality. It was this man, the new Premier of Italy, who hurled captured Ethiopean chieftains out of bombing planes as a warning to their followers. To get rid of Mussolini and treat with *Ersatz* Fascists such as these would be to sacrifice the greatest political opportunity the war has yet offered.

No plea of military expediency would excuse mistakes in Italy such as were made in North Africa. We are dealing with enemies in Italy, not with uncertain allies. We are winning one military success after another. We need appease nobody. We can fix our political terms. We have already announced that under Allied military rule Fascist leaders may not hold office. The President and Mr. Churchill should now state plainly that we will have no dealings with reactionary legatees of the collapsed Fascist power. This is our great chance; we cannot afford to muff it.

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THE ANTICS OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONgress, outlined by I. F. Stone elsewhere in this issue, have at least had the virtue of jolting American labor out of its long beauty nap. Taking for granted the permanence of New Deal reforms and reveling in relatively high wages, the trade unions allowed the 1940 elections to go by default. They have now had the sluggishness knocked out of them, and there are reassuring signs that they will not again be caught napping. Regional conferences of the C. I. O. at Philadelphia and Chicago have issued a "statement of political action" which calls for a united front with the A. F. of L., the Railway Brotherhoods, and unaffiliated labor organizations in behalf of candidates who have consistently demonstrated their support of the President on major policies, though it does not mention a fourth term. The conferences, presided over by Sidney Hillman, were no doubt realistic in rejecting the idea of a third party, but a flat decision on this point seems to us ill timed. By committing themselves, the powerful labor groups represented at the conferences in effect served notice a year ahead of time that they would support Roosevelt or his choice, come what may. If the rest of the labor movement follows suit, the Administration will find it strategically logical to conciliate the reactionary wing of the party, a process which has already been carried painfully far. The decision, moreover, is a slap at the American Labor Party, which has moved far in the direction of independent political action by labor. Worse still, the blow comes at a moment when the A. L. P. is fighting for its life as a free party against the inroads of the Communists, who threaten to seize control in the primaries of August 10. The party needs the vote of every enrolled member if it is to be saved from these political buccaneers, and we hope that no one will be dissuaded from going to the polls by the stand of the Philadelphia and Chicago conventions.

*

THE COX COMMITTEE HAS NOW REFUSED to receive in evidence twenty letters from other government agencies, including the armed services, testifying to the value of the work done for them by the broadcast intelligence service of the Federal Communications Commission. These official documents outweigh the unofficial complaints made by Rear Admiral Stanford C. Hooper, retired, who was trotted out by the committee to attack the FCC. We are glad that the President has bluntly ordered army and navy officers not to testify before this phony investigating committee, and we note with amusement Cox's threat to charge James F. Fly, chairman of the commission, with contempt. A contempt charge would have to be prosecuted by the Attorney General and if the Attorney General were asked to proceed against Fly it would raise embarrassing questions about Cox. The FCC is still waiting for Biddle to act on evidence given him more than a year ago which showed that Cox had received $2,500 from a radio station whose cause he had pleaded before the commission. If the money was received for services rendered, the Congressman is guilty of a felony. When is the Attorney General going to do something with the evidence in his possession?

*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY RANK AND FILE seems to be outgrowing the Throttlebottoms who figure as party leaders in Congress and in the G. O. P.'s major city and state organizations. The Eastern regional conference of the unofficial Republican Post-War Policy Association in New York last week opened with an attack on the domestic policies of the New Deal but proceeded to a warning that many Republicans would choose those policies in 1944 in preference to "a snug isolationism." The platform adopted by this group—among them several Governors and members of Congress—is of world-wide importance. It was the Republican Party which scuttled the League of Nations after the last war. Now we find a growing demand within that same party for some new form of world organization "to assume full responsibility in maintaining world peace." The illusion of isolationism is dying in the party once dominated by it. A conference of this kind does, indeed, as the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* suggests, "make the life of an ostrich thoroughly uncomfortable."

*

TWO MILLION JEWS OUT OF EUROPE'S SIX million have already been slaughtered by the Nazis; most of the remainder seem doomed, for the rate of liquidation is being speeded up as German hopes of victory decline. This is the most colossal and atrocious crime in history, and it is a crime to which the democracies are accessories before the fact. Now the Emergency Conference to Save the Jews of Europe meeting in New York is making one more effort to arouse the sympathies of the world. It has a number of concrete proposals to make, including an approach by the United Nations to the Axis satellites. Since the governments of these countries now see the writing on the wall, there is reason to believe that they might prove amenable to pressure. Another proposal is for temporary asylum in neutral countries with an Allied guaranty of evacuation of refugees received there within six months after the end of the war. This brings up the problem of permanent havens. Many Jews could be absorbed in Palestine, but every proposal to open the gates of the (Balfour) Promised Land has met a blank refusal from the British government. It is, of course, true that an increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine might mean trouble with the Arabs. But whatever the risks, they ought not to outweigh the certainty of the loss of

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tens of thousands of lives which might be saved by letting down the bars. We must note, however, that the United States would be in a stronger moral position to urge this policy if it were a little more open-handed itself.

Backstairs Diplomacy

SELDOM has a reputable journalist done a shoddier day's work than the column by Ernest K. Lindley in *Newsweek* for July 19. The article, entitled Why De Gaulle Is Not Trusted, is noteworthy both as a masterpiece of injustice and as a glittering example of the State Department's new technique of conducting diplomacy through pet journalists.

Mr. Lindley, who has long enjoyed a privileged status with the Administration, casts his column in the form of answers to what he chooses to regard as "the accusations of the De Gaullists and their supporters in Britain and the United States." The first of these "accusations" is that "American policy toward France is formulated by a 'pro-fascist' clique in the State Department." This is a mere burlesque of the charge, never made so far as we know by De Gaullists, that the core of the State Department and Foreign Service is reactionary and generally hostile to forces anywhere in the world that promise social change. It is by now all too clear, however, that Mr. Lindley is right when he attributes our French policy to the President and Secretary Hull rather than to any group of subordinates. So much the worse.

Mr. Lindley's denial of "De Gaullist accusation number two"—that "American policy toward France runs counter to British policy, or at most has been concurred in reluctantly by the British"—contains the admission that the two governments have seen eye to eye only "for some months." That is perfectly true, since Anthony Eden's visit to Washington, to be exact. A bargain was struck on that occasion which marked the end of more than two years of wholehearted support of De Gaulle by the British, during which time our own government did everything in its considerable power to humiliate him. No one denies that Churchill himself is now hostile to De Gaulle. Indeed, Churchill now admits to authorship of a confidential memorandum which was forwarded to the State Department and which is said to charge De Gaulle with dictatorial tendencies and with having left behind him a "trail of Anglophobia." But Churchill, like our own government, appears to find De Gaulle's tremendous appeal to Frenchmen a threat to his hopes for a France which will be pliable at the peace table. Churchill, moreover, is not quite synonymous with Britain, and in fact his present attitude toward the Fighting French is throughout England among the least popular of his policies. Certainly it is going far to say, as Mr. Lindley flatly puts it, that "the British have learned from their own experience that De Gaulle is not a trustworthy ally." As recently as July 19 the London *Times* urged recognition of the French Committee of Liberation and severely criticized the British and American governments for making the political aspect of North African affairs "more complex and embarrassing" than the military.

From this point Mr. Lindley's analysis proceeds from the strained to the fatuous. "The most devastating answer" to the charge that "in checkreining De Gaulle" we are "meddling in the political affairs of France," he writes, "came from Mr. Roosevelt last week: 95 per cent of the French people are still under the German heel." To be sure, Lindley admits that we "are interfering in the maneuvers of a group of French politicians in North Africa," but that is all right since they "have not been chosen by the French people." Does Mr. Lindley imagine that our interference—the kind of leaders we arm, the friends and enemies we make—will have no bearing on the future of France? And does he think that American and British politicians have a greater right to interfere in the affairs of the French empire than Frenchmen have to run them?

The columnist's arrogance reaches its full stature when he examines the charge that our present position will alienate the French people. Their liberation depends on British and American arms, he writes, even though "once liberated, they may not be grateful." Therefore if they are alienated "it will be only because De Gaulle and the men around him incite French opinion against the saviors of France. The British and ourselves surely would be foolish to deliver France into the hands of an opponent, as De Gaulle's recent behavior comes near to establishing him as being." One need only think back to 1940 to recall the figure of De Gaulle fighting desperately at Abbeville, imploring the Reynaud government to carry on from Brittany, then from Africa; of De Gaulle condemned to death as a traitor, standing alone in London, inviting his stricken countrymen to rally to the cry: "Rien n'est perdu. Luttons!" Similarly one can recall our own slick arrangements with the traitors of Vichy, our miserable efforts to sustain Pétain as the "George Washington of France." Yet now it is De Gaulle who is the "opponent" and we who are the "saviors." The Frenchmen who voluntarily bore the full brunt of the assault while we slept are to be grateful to us for fighting now that our life as a nation is at stake.

There are other brassy bits in the Lindley "analysis," but they scarcely rate such extended discussion. Neither would the article in its entirety if it did not so blatantly point up the State Department's growing tendency to by-pass the usual diplomatic procedures in favor of letting its opinions leak out to select correspondents. If Secretary Hull thought it right to publicize Churchill's memorandum on De Gaulle, why didn't he do so openly? If not, how is it that so confidential a paper fell into the hands

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of Mr. Lindley? How is it, for that matter, that Demaree Bess, of the *Saturday Evening Post,* was given access to files in North Africa which no other correspondent has been privileged to inspect? As part of the same pattern, Harold Callender, Constantine Brown, and a few other Washington correspondents have recently been treating their readers to a spate of stories from "unimpeachable sources" and bits of chatter from "high Washington circles" all blackening De Gaulle's name and none of them carrying the slightest responsibility. Gossip is traditionally a staple of capital cities, but surely the Foreign Office of the greatest power on earth need not clog the backstairs.

End the Inquisition!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

EVERYBODY knows something about the methods used in checking on federal employees. The story of the Washington Gestapo, printed last week and the week before in *The Nation,* was not a revelation. But it aroused more interest than anything we have published for months. It is as if people everywhere, in and out of government agencies, had been waiting for the facts to be assembled, the moral drawn, and the whole thing presented openly and without reservation. Numerous letters, of which a few are printed in this issue, have been coming into the office. One or two expressed doubt about the accuracy of the story and disapproval of the anonymity of its author. The rest—the overwhelming majority—warmly welcomed the publication of facts too long suppressed or published piecemeal when particular cases created public interest. And several writers recounted experiences of their own with FBI or Civil Service agents which parallel or complement those described by our author.

The fact is, I believe, that the methods used by the federal investigators are profoundly shocking to most Americans. They are associated in most normal minds with the operations of the secret police of European dictatorships. Americans find them hateful and want to know why we have adopted them in this democracy. It is a sense of inner division and confusion of purpose that explains the eager response to the story of the Washington Gestapo.

Before I consider the more general implications of that story, I want to reply to one or two of our correspondents. Those who question the propriety of writing or publishing anonymous articles on a subject like this probably fail to realize the point to which the inquisition has gone. In some degree I have shared that failure. I thought when the articles came in that the author should reveal his identity at least to the editors. He refused, and for a while we considered rejecting them. He said our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, knew him and that was enough. He was afraid that if two people, let alone a whole editorial board, knew who he was the fact might leak out and his job be lost. We decided to use the articles. His fears seemed to us excessive, but they were added evidence of the reign of terror he described. Mr. Stone vouched for his veracity.

In addition, we have all experienced, at first or second hand, the examinations conducted by the federal Gestapo. I have several times recorded the questions of agents who have quizzed me about actual or prospective government employees. To read them over is to discover how closely they duplicate the stories told in Washington Gestapo. On one occasion, when an editor of another liberal weekly was under investigation, I sent the Attorney General a transcript, as nearly verbatim as possible, of the astonishing conversation between myself and the young FBI agent who came to me for information. Unfortunately I kept no copy; but I remember that the agent managed to get the impression that Mr. X was a believer in "collectivism" because I said he had doubtless supported the idea of collective security before the war.

When my friend Otto Mayer protests in a letter printed on page 137 that he knows men in government agencies who "have never heard of FBI investigations in their departments" and that the article is a "damned lie," I can only say that his friends must have led remarkably sheltered lives. Perhaps they worked in the geodetic survey. I have been asked dozens of times by FBI and CS investigators whether a person under inquiry was interested in radical ideas, whether he had been sympathetic with Spain, whether he was pro-Russian. (The deadly sin of communism is seldom mentioned by name.) I have been asked what I knew about a man's private life. A year or so ago a former *Nation* colleague who happens to be a bitter anti-Communist was under examination. The investigator who questioned me about him wanted to know whether he had any Russian friends, whether he had ever left the United States—a matter of State Department record—since he had immigrated, whether he lived well and, if so, how he managed it on the proceeds of his writings.

Another friend of mine, an alien, in this country on a visitor's visa, was actually queried about an American official in one of the more secret war agencies. The investigator asked my friend if he had ever visited this official at his home. He said he had. The agent asked if he knew where the official got his money. My friend did not. The agent asked if he knew whether the official was a Jew. My friend had no idea. The agent pointed out that my friend must have met people at the official's house. "Were any of them Jews?" he asked. I can give my oath that this incident occurred. In all its nasty implications, I believe it equals anything presented by our anonymous author.

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Last week I talked the whole situation over with four leading officials in Washington. Like our author they shall remain nameless. But it is not betraying their confidence to say that one was a Cabinet member, one the head of an important federal agency, and the other two of equal eminence. They all agreed that the inquisition was aimed at ridding the government service of as many New Dealers and other progressives as possible. One of the four thought the antagonism to Jews was equally strong. He also believed the situation would get worse; it was part of a general reaction which was increasing. One thought that any official with enough guts to fight for his subordinates could put a stop to the depredations of the investigators. One thought the President would like to step in but couldn't possibly do so before the elections. One pointed out the mitigating fact that many progressives had survived the purge. "The trouble is," he said, "that the atmosphere has become stifling. Men and women of liberal mind hate to work in most of the agencies. Still more refuse government posts in the first place. Slowly, but very perceptibly, this pressure is impoverishing the whole federal service."

But the corroboration of high government officials is hardly necessary to establish facts so generally known. What is important is to realize what they mean. What is more important still is to do something about them.

Jay Allen, lecturing on the government's foreign policy, has referred to our "national schizophrenia." The investigations by federal agents are another symptom of the same disease. We are waging a dangerous, deadly civil war. That it is a political and psychological war rather than a military one merely makes its manifestations less noisy, its casualty lists less obvious. The division in our political life slices through every department, every bureau, every agency. It even runs through individuals, and one of the individuals most profoundly afflicted is the President himself.

We must accept the fact that our federal police and other agencies of investigation are firmly planted on the reactionary side in this internal struggle. They are more afraid of liberals and progressives, of Socialists and near-Socialists, of Communists and fellow-travelers, than they are of pro-Nazis or native fascists. We must accept the fact that the present Congress, by a big majority, supports this position. We must accept the fact that most agency and department heads will continue to make appointments with one eye on the FBI and the other on Martin Dies. They know that their appropriations depend upon the favor with which they are regarded in Congress and that a record of "bad" appointments or defiance of the federal investigators may well mean the death or crippling of their offices. The life-or-death power of Congress over the whole administrative apparatus has turned many a liberal executive into a mouse.

But having set down and digested these unsavory items, we can still insist that a little courage in a few major posts could do much to weaken the regressive elements in our split personality.

Last week, in an article by Frederick L. Schuman, the Attorney General was referred to as a "liberal." The quotation marks were unfair. Mr. Biddle is a liberal, and he has the faults that too often go with the quality of liberalism. He is not a fighter. He compromises when he should be stiff. He is severe when the enemy is weak. But the implication in the second instalment of Washington Gestapo that Dies has had the full support of Biddle is, I believe, unfair. While the FBI has doubtless cooperated with the Dies committee upon occasion, it has also found the committee's noisy methods a hindrance to its own legitimate work. Nor should it be forgotten that the Attorney General gave precise figures to show how few of the federal employees charged by Dies with subversive connections were found guilty by the FBI. Biddle's fault lies in his acquiescence in equally detestable methods employed by the FBI. He has never dared to challenge the operations of the redoubtable Edgar Hoover. Rather than risk a showdown with an agency which has such tremendous prestige in Congress and the country, he allows Hoover to terrorize the people who are Biddle's natural political friends and allies. Putting the matter bluntly, Biddle has far less guts than his reactionary subordinate. And with a few exceptions, like Secretary Ickes, the same must be said of the other liberals in the government. They let the men of will, the ruthless and unscrupulous men, ride over them and their decent convictions. And so our political practices continue to war with our political faith—and democracy is divided and weakened from top to bottom.

What can be done? It is useless merely to ask Biddle to end the inquisition. He will not make a move unless he makes it under pressure. One force which might encourage him to act would be a strong demand from the heads of the various agencies and departments. But that in turn is unlikely unless the administrative personnel itself is willing to fight. A powerful union of federal employees could end the rule of both Dies and Hoover if it wanted to. Pressure from the outside would be useful too. Citizens' organizations such as the Council for Democracy and the Union for Democratic Action should fight for a new policy. Labor unions, realizing that their friends are being driven out of office, should throw their whole strength against the methods of the federal police. Widespread publicity and popular protests should be launched and a Congressional inquiry demanded as soon as Congress reconvenes. Only by action which vigorously combats the fascist tactics of our Washington Gestapo can democracy in the federal service survive. I hope our readers will help to organize such action in every part of the country.

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The Cantankerous Congress

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 23

THE Key Issue. The key issue on the home front is the fight against inflation. A genuine roll-back of prices would greatly increase the President's popularity. A reduction in price at the grocery counter is something every housewife could understand, and no Congressman would dare fight. Congress recessed without enacting restrictions on a roll-back of food prices, but Byrnes and Price Administrator Prentiss Brown seem to have given behind-the-scenes pledges that they would make only limited use of their powers on this score. If such pledges were made, they ought not to be allowed to bind the President. A further rise in living costs would involve the possibility of the most dangerous kind of disintegration on the home front: spontaneous strikes, bitter class feeling, more anti-labor legislation, the destruction of morale on the assembly line and in the kitchen.

Now's the Time to Act. A series of roll-back subsidies before Congress reconvenes would change the whole political atmosphere, strengthen the President. Even in the right wing of the Democratic Party there is support for subsidies. Roll-back subsidies are "the only logical and effective way of 'holding the line' on the cost of living." They "will benefit those who cannot pay more, as well as those who can, and the cost will be relatively small." The words quoted are from a radio speech made during the past week by that Texas left-winger Jesse Jones.

Profiteers. Although industry has soaked the army and navy some fancy prices for arms and is doing very well despite excess-profits taxes, it deserves credit for its part in helping to keep down the prices of basic raw materials in this war much better than in the last. The Anti-Trust Division under Thurman Arnold scared a price reduction out of Alcoa. Leon Henderson, by sheer bluff, managed to hold down the price of steel—but the bluff wouldn't have worked if United States Steel, leader of the industry, hadn't been taking a much more cooperative attitude toward the government. Henderson also managed to hold the line against increases in the price of copper and crude oil—offering higher prices for increased production instead of a general price increase. In this respect Brown has followed in his footsteps, though under pressure from Ickes he now seems to be on the verge of surrendering to the oil industry's demand for a higher price "to encourage new production."

By contrast with the farm bloc, industry's record is patriotic and praiseworthy. The only section of industry which has vigorously and successfully fought price controls is that section which processes food. Some of the big processors are themselves growers; others are linked with banks holding farm mortgages. These are the bankers and trusts "in overalls" who supported organizations like the Associated Farmers before the war. Allied with the big farmers and cattlemen and helped by the farmers' natural weakness for inflationary sprees, the canners, packers, millers, and bakers have become a sector of industry most dangerous to the war effort. These elements of big business and the big farmers are the outstanding profiteers of World War II.

The Farm Bloc's Record. In retrospect the story of the session is a series of hairbreadth escapes from the farm bloc. The Pace bill, to include farm labor costs in determining parity, would have added three billion dollars to food costs. It passed the House but was killed in committee in the Senate. The Bankhead bill to exclude benefit payments in determining parity ceilings would have added two billion dollars to the nation's food bill. It passed both Houses but was vetoed by the President, and the veto was sustained. The President's veto message pointed out that farm prices were already 115 per cent of parity as compared with the World War I peak of 107 per cent. The farm bloc did succeed in enacting the Bankhead-Johnson bill to defer essential farm labor from military service. Under Secretary Patterson said that in Connecticut passage of this bill caused a disastrous flow of labor from munitions plants back to the farm.

The Senate passed a resolution to permit the sale of corn at $1.40 a bushel as compared with the hog-corn ratio price of $1.30 and the OPA ceiling of $1.07 a bushel. But the House Agriculture Committee voted to table this on the day before adjournment. The narrowest escape and the most dangerous was on roll-back subsidies, which were opposed both by the Farm Bureau Federation and by the National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation, long a stooge of the milk trust. The farm bloc succeeded in writing an anti-subsidy provision into the Commodity Credit Corporation bill but not in overriding the President's veto of that measure.

Four days after the President's veto, the Senate by a vote of thirty-six to twenty-eight approved a more stringent restriction against subsidies by Tydings of Maryland. But on the very day of adjournment the Senate voted to eliminate this ban against food roll-backs. The vote was thirty-four to thirty-three, and the Senate's action was then accepted by the House. Thus subsidies were saved by a single vote and still depend on whether the President will override the timidity of Byrnes and Brown. On net balance, the farm bloc's influence was negative

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rather than positive. Its greatest victory was the abolition of the Farm Security Administration.

The attack on the FSA was opened by the Byrd committee, and one of the most idiotic statements of the session was Senator Byrd's charge that the FSA was "based on the Communist form of government." Actually it seeks to widen the private ownership of property among tenants and farm workers. That, and not communism, is what the farm bloc has against it. As Lambertson of Kansas objected two years ago, the FSA "takes hired hands and makes independent farmers of them." Despite Byrd and the Farm Bureau, the Senate in June had voted sixty-six to twelve to retain the FSA. But in the House the farm bloc succeeded in having the FSA transferred to the War Food Administration, which is dominated by the big farmers and processors.

How Labor Fared. Labor's greatest interest in the session lay in the fight to roll back the price of food. In the matter of strictly labor legislation it succeeded in killing the Hobbs anti-racketeering bill in the Senate after it passed the House. Labor suffered a severe setback in the passage over the President's veto of the Connally-Smith bill and another in the passage of an amendment forbidding the National Labor Relations Board to order an election in plants where a labor contract has been in force for three months without an appeal. Though this had the backing of the A. F. of L., it will hurt all legitimate unions wherever company unions have been successfully launched. The Connally-Smith bill was passed because of the coal strike; the NLRB amendment because of the stupidity of some A. F. of L. leaders.

Social Security. Next to the fight against inflation, labor's greatest domestic concern was in plans for increased social security. In his message to Congress the President asked for security "from the cradle to the grave." On March 10 he sent the monumental report of the National Resources Planning Board to Congress and asked that its proposals for a stable and planned society be given "full consideration during this session." Congress responded by abolishing the National Resources Planning Board. Taft and Tydings led the fight against the NRPB in the Senate, the former calling its proposals "partly socialism and partly the product of a dangerous imagination." The Senate is not opposed to planning per se, though one would think so from most of the speeches. It is only opposed to planning in behalf of the underprivileged. The Senate Finance Committee hired the Brookings Institution to make a study of post-war planning. Brookings has become the leading academic mouthpiece and lobbyist of big business in the capital.

Dies. If the President had taken a hearty wallop at Dies or turned the laugh on him, the Texan's investigating committee might have been stopped this year. The success registered by Secretary Ickes in fighting for Robert Morss Lovett showed what a courageous administrator can do against Dies. There was an incipient revolt in the House that could have defeated Dies with a little Administration support. On February 3 Folger of North Carolina attacked Dies on the floor and said he had spent 90 per cent of his time and effort hunting "reds" rather than Axis agents. On February 5 the House rejected a motion by Hendricks of Florida to halt the salaries of thirty-eight government employees Dies had attacked as "radical bureaucrats." But by February 10 the revolt had died down, and the House voted 302 to 94 to continue the Dies committee for another two years. Dies's announcement after the Detroit riots that he would investigate "the coddling of races by politically minded people" indicates that he may become more dangerous than ever to the war effort. He stirred up un-American doctrines under the guise of investigating them, and he is now out to stimulate race hatred in the same manner. In this connection, it is pleasant to report that the McKellar amendment, requiring Senate confirmation of all government employees earning more than $4,500 a year, was defeated in the House after passing the Senate. Under it there would have been a Dies-style debate in the Senate every time a New Dealer came up for confirmation.

The War Against Roosevelt. When Congress met in January, Speaker Rayburn and Minority Leader Martin suggested that it be called the Victory Congress. The Cantankerous Congress would be a better name for it. It killed the NYA and the Guffey act. It cut the appropriations of OPA and OWI. Its keynote was struck by Cox of Georgia when he said, "Government by bureaucrats must be broken"; and the unfair and dirty attack made by Lambertson of Kansas on the President's sons was typical of the level on which it operated. A House committee with an ex-Coughlinite counsel stirred up anti-Semitism with its below-the-belt attacks on David Ginsburg and other Jewish lawyers in the OPA. The objective of the bi-partisan anti-New Deal coalition which dominated the session seems to have been to create a maximum of confusion. The war it waged was a war against Roosevelt.

The Record of Byrnes. Principal cloakroom politician for the White House is James E. Byrnes. Byrnes was supposed to have great influence in Congress. The New Deal has never taken a worse beating "on the Hill" than in the period since Byrnes stepped down from the Supreme Court to become the President's assistant. Byrnes is devoted and able but seems a man of mediocre mind with little conception of the larger issues on which the country can be aroused in support of the Administration.

Who's to Blame? First, you and I and the organized labor movement for not electing a better Congress in the fall of 1942. Second, the President, who has relied too much on cloakroom politicians instead of taking the complicated problems of the home front to the people and helping them to understand what the uproar's about.

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Japanning the Philippines

BY CARL CROW

THE official Tokyo radio station recently broadcast on all Far Eastern beams, in a dozen languages, the report that an increasing number of Filipinos were abandoning the vulgar American custom of shaking hands. When they meet Japanese friends or acquaintances now, they bow, from the waist, just like any well-bred Japanese.

Nipponese radio commentators and editorial writers hailed this bit of news as conclusive evidence that the process of Japanning the Filipinos was well under way. The program is comprehensive and ambitious. The Japanese are not content when subjugated peoples merely accept their rule patiently and obediently. Those who sincerely accept Japanese rule must try to be like their conquerors in language, manners, and thought. Most important of all, the Filipinos must eradicate all trace of American influence.

Tokyo asserts that the Japanese regime is steadily gaining friends and supporters among the Filipinos. The Philippine government in exile says unfortunately this is true. For diametrically opposite reasons it is to the interest of each to emphasize the Japanese progress; the exiles, of course, hope to needle the United States into hurrying a campaign of reconquest.

It is hard to assess the truth. Prominent Filipinos have broadcast their praise of the New Order. The extravagance of their phrases could be interpreted either as irony or enthusiasm. Large numbers of Filipinos are working for the Japanese. If they did not, they would not eat. Only time, and reconquest, will tell how many islanders actually have switched loyalty. The pressures applied have been thorough and relentless, under a program which obviously had been worked out long in advance, down to the last detail.

The Japanese army had thoughtfully brought along its own currency—handsome steel-engraved bank notes, imitations of legitimate Philippine Commonwealth currency. Remarks by Japanese officers led to the belief that the notes had been stored in army vaults for several years. There appeared to be inexhaustible bales of these notes—certainly enough to pay for everything the army wanted. The only defect about the currency was that nowhere was there any indication as to when, how, or by whom it would be redeemed. But since it was backed by Japanese bayonets and since refusal to accept it was regarded as an insult to the Japanese army, the currency soon gained wide circulation.

All property was supposed to belong to enemy aliens, meaning Americans, British, or Chinese, unless proved otherwise, and therefore was subject to confiscation. This made rather a clean sweep. Most of the large concerns, being incorporated under Philippine law, were under the American flag. Some of the oldest trading and shipping companies were British. Chinese owned most of the retail shops. Mitsubishi and other big concerns took over some of the mines, shipping, and sugar refineries. The Japanese army took over the profitable San Miguel brewery, which included the local Coca-Cola bottling agency, and is still running it. Wealthy Filipinos with political influence or with important connections in Spain were not disturbed in possession of their estates—provided they submitted to Japanese-army "guidance."

Banks and insurance companies were seized by the army and "reorganized" before being turned over to Japanese companies. One of the first regulations provided that the insurance companies would pay no death benefits if the insured had lost his life while opposing the benevolent entry of the Japanese army. This saved the insurance companies large sums, as everyone killed was presumed to have been an enemy of Japan.

Texaco and Socony filling-station signs were painted over with the name of the Japanese company which grabbed them. The Japanese carpetbaggers improved on the clumsy methods of our own Civil War. They traveled with, not after, the army. For that matter, many of them were local residents who long before had picked out the property they wanted.

Japanese carpetbaggers who set out to exploit the country were aghast to find that Filipino workers of all classes were paid approximately twice as much as similar workers in Japan. The army solved this problem by a very simple procedure. All salaries and wages were ordered cut in half. The cut applied to all—day laborers, skilled mechanics, white-collar workers, superintendents, and executives. The salaries of high officials of the Commonwealth and of the municipality of Manila suffered still greater reductions, bringing them in line with the poorly paid officials of Japan. That was the Filipinos' first experience with the practical workings of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. They were back again where they were under Spanish rule, the gains of forty years wiped out. Under the reduced wage scale the Filipino standards of living, which were the highest in the Orient, dropped as low as those of Japan itself.

Then came taxes, like a second visitation of locusts. All the old taxes were retained and new ones added.

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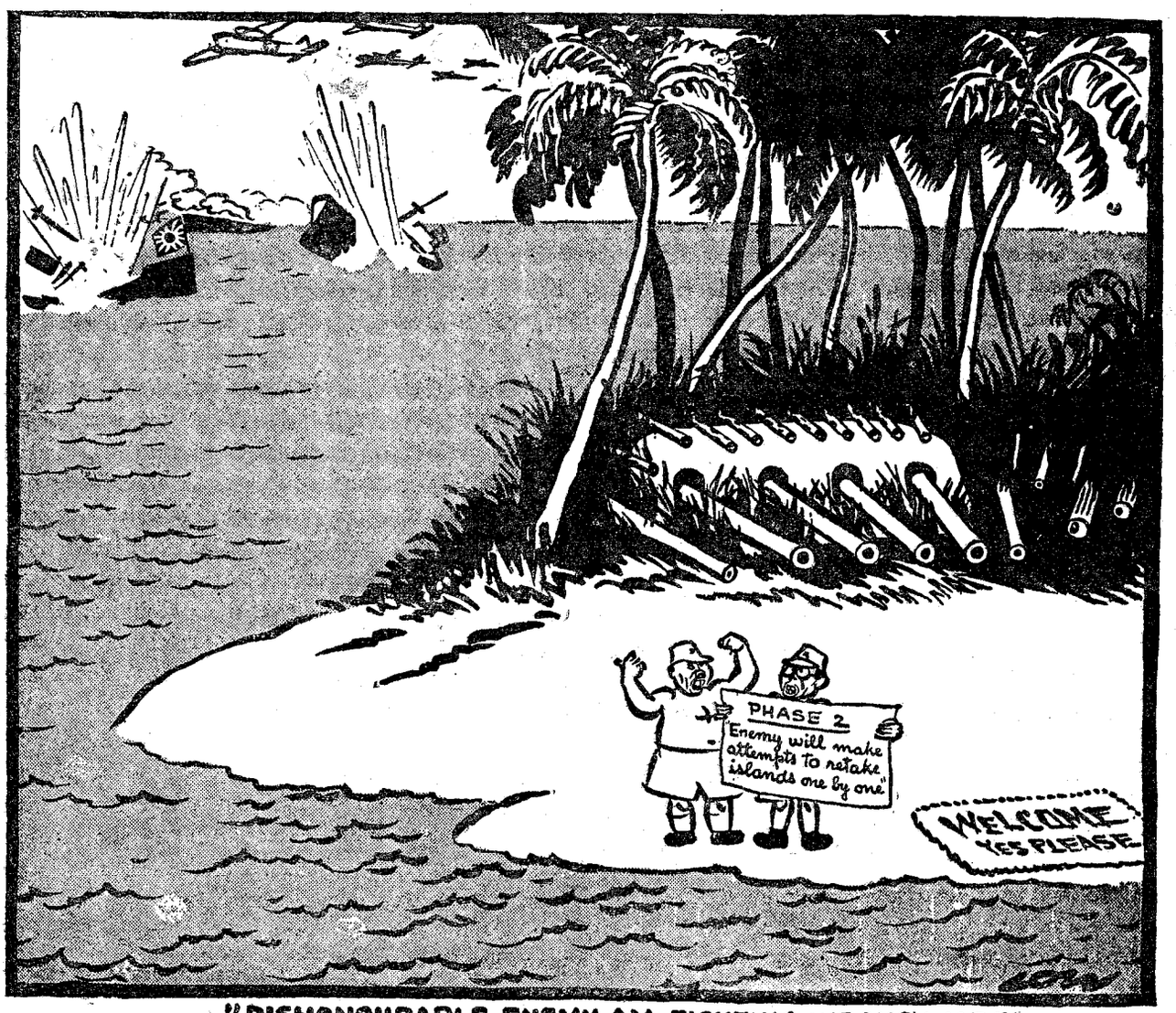
The most onerous is a sales tax starting with 20 per cent on necessities and rising to 60 per cent on a graduated scale covering different classifications of luxuries. The garrulous Tokyo radio said that the Filipinos had been guilty of extravagant living, indulging themselves in such useless luxuries as ice-cream cones and jazz phonograph records. They were not frugal and austere like the Japanese. The army sent out lecturers to chide the Filipinos about their way of life, and Tagalog newspapers published illustrated articles showing how the Japanese lived. There can be no doubt that the Filipinos have given up luxurious living. They are frugal now to the point of hunger.

In Japan when farmers are told to plant rice they plant rice; when told to raise silk worms they raise silk worms. It was in this way that the army controlled the economy of the country and built up its huge war machine. The army attempted the same regimentation of the farmers of the Philippines. Strict orders were issued that large acreages of cane be plowed up and the land planted to cotton. Several thousand agricultural experts clothed with some police authority were sent from Japan to see that this program was carried out. The fact that not one farmer in ten thousand knew anything about growing cotton did not deter the army economists. They need cotton desperately. Filipinos, like all other farmers, are stubbornly conservative, and did not take kindly to the new program. They were threatened and cajoled, but fewer than fifteen thousand have planted cotton. The most they can grow would keep the mills of Japan busy for only a few hours, would provide uniforms for only a few divisions.

While decreased pay and increased taxes have reduced the Filipinos to poverty and hunger, a third development has brought millions of them to even greater depths. This is the inability of the Japanese to market the export crops, principally sugar and cocoanut oil. The markets of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere cannot absorb these products, which we formerly bought. Even if the markets could absorb them, the Japanese would not be able to spare the ships to carry the cargoes. One Filipino in every four is directly dependent on these crops, which are now valueless.

The Japanese are unable to market Philippine products and are equally unable to bring in the manufactured articles that are desperately needed. They also find



"DISHONOURABLE ENEMY AM FIGHTING WRONG WAR"

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great difficulty in providing an adequate supply of rice, a food crop in which the Philippines are deficient. The manufactured goods most needed are those Japan is least able to supply—cotton textiles of all description. There are a few thousand spinning-wheels and looms in the Philippines, but these can do little more than supply clothing for the families which own them. Filipinos have always depended on imported cotton cloth, buying each year more than $10,000,000 worth. There have been no importations since the Japanese occupation, for Japan has not enough cotton goods even for its own people. When the Japanese marched in, the army requisitioned all cotton goods that could be put to military use. Filipinos are in rags.

One of the first orders issued outlawed the use of any language save Tagalog, which some 4,000,000 of the 17,000,000 inhabitants of the islands speak, and Japanese. English, the language spoken by all educated Filipinos and the basis of the whole educational system, was outlawed. Spanish, the second most important language, was also prohibited, but the Spanish Falangists pulled diplomatic strings in Madrid, and that ban was lifted.

The outward appearance of Manila streets changed rapidly. The fine old churches, convents, and monasteries of the walled city remained as evidence that this was once a proud possession of colonial Spain. The modern buildings and wharves and broad thoroughfares testified to the progress that had been made under the American flag. But a rash of blatant official and commercial signs in Japanese characters broke out everywhere. If a shopkeeper was not quick about changing, Japanese hoodlums destroyed the old sign while police looked on. Street names were changed, especially those having any American significance. The new names were Japanese, not Filipino. Filipinos didn't have the faintest idea of what the new signs meant. But it had the effect of making Manila look like a Japanese city, which was what the conquerors desired.

Huge stores of official stationery in offices of the Commonwealth and the municipality of Manila were hastily overprinted, all English text being obliterated. Postage stamps were surcharged with Japanese characters. New motor-car license plates were issued with numbers in Japanese symbols. Traffic signs appeared in the same language, and ignorance of their meaning was no excuse in the eyes of the military police. These busy officials looked with suspicion on anyone who spoke English and often treated him roughly. Since most of the police did not know the difference between German and English, some of their Nazi colleagues got shoved around.

The military police inspected shops to see that all signs and prices were in the official languages. The Japanese carpetbaggers, who rapidly replaced the Chinese in small retail shops, could speak no language but their own, and shoppers had to speak it or they would not be served. This presented no great difficulties. Colloquial Japanese is one of the easiest of languages. Anyone can learn enough of it in a few days to barter with shopkeepers.

If claims made by the Tokyo radio are true, and they probably are, the police speak only Japanese, and no other language is used in shops. It is amusing to note, however, that most of the broadcasts made by the Japanese to the Filipinos are in English, the outlaw tongue. They are compelled to bootleg their own propaganda.

The order outlawing English scrapped the fine educational system that had been built up by the joint efforts of Americans and Filipinos over a period of more than forty years. More than a million textbooks in 12,000 public schools had to be discarded. As there were no Japanese teachers to staff the schools, all were closed. Since then, 600 have been reopened, 5 per cent of the original number. They provide nothing but a two-year course in the Japanese language, though other courses have been promised. Textbooks were imported from Japan—books in a language that not one Filipino in a hundred thousand could read. The Tokyo newspapers said that some of the most popular old texts would be translated into Japanese. Revisions would be made, pointing out the evils of democracy, the cruelty and injustice of American rule in the Philippines, and the righteousness of Japan's cause.

It has become obvious that the Japanese army has scrapped the educational system without providing anything to replace it, that it does not, in fact, want to replace it. The Japanese have deliberately blown out the light, planning a period of darkness and ignorance during which American influence will be obliterated.

The Japanese were very solicitous about "protecting" the Roman Catholic church—from what was not made clear. On the first Sunday after landing in Manila the Japanese soldiers marched to Mass in squad formations, filling all the churches and chapels of that Catholic city. Armed guards of honor were placed outside each door. Filipinos rubbed their eyes. There hadn't been so many people at Mass since the Eucharistic Congress was held in Manila, attracting Catholics from all over the world.

Since only about one Japanese in two thousand is a Catholic, the law of averages would lead one to expect to find fewer than ten Catholics to a division. But in Manila it appeared that almost every other soldier attended Mass and made the sign of the cross at every convenient opportunity. Their behavior was eminently correct—so meticulously correct that it seemed, like their battle tactics, the result of intensive training.

The soldiers were veterans of the war in China. For years they had looted and burned Christian missions and churches, Catholic and Protestant alike. Included in the

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forces were a few divisions which had taken part in the rape of Nanking. It was, of course, a miracle of grace which changed the character of these bestial soldiers so quickly.

The Tokyo radio gave full credit for this benevolence toward the church to that curious organization the "Religious Department" of the Japanese army. This is a selected group of experts in various religions. Within its ranks are men who could actually impersonate the priests of many religions. The purpose of the department is to exploit all religions; to use them wherever possible as a means of furthering Japan's dream of world empire. Propaganda agencies lost no time in telling Catholics all over the world about the way the Japanese soldiers had filled Manila churches. Photographs were sent to newspapers in Latin America as proof of the very friendly relations existing between the Japanese army and the Catholic church.

The most spectacular stunt arranged by the busy Religious Department was a "pilgrimage" of Catholic priests and nuns from Japan to the Philippines. That was what it was called, though it did not resemble any other pilgrimage the Filipinos had ever seen. The nuns received as much publicity as a group of traveling show girls and were seen everywhere.

While the Religious Department cajoles the Catholic church and experiments with the strategy of infiltration, high officials in Tokyo pull no punches and mince no words when explaining their attitude toward religion. Referring to the Christians and Mohammedans, Premier Tojo said: "We must respect their religions and guide them properly. However, there is one problem. If religion is used to manifest enmity against us, then we must suppress it. Let there be no misunderstanding about that."

As the Japanese have shown on numerous occasions, "guidance" means control. As they have also shown, failure to support them in their plans for conquest is regarded as an expression of enmity. In other words, religion must conform to Japanese ideas.

Deaths at the hands of the Japanese armed forces continued for some time after the fall of Bataan and the surrender of Corregidor. When a civilian failed to bow to a Japanese soldier, the affronted soldier might punish the insult as he pleased. Often he shot to kill. A great many prominent Chinese and Filipinos were murdered for this and other reasons. There were no trials. More than twenty of the most prominent members of the local Chinese community were killed for no reason apparently but that they had supported the Chinese government. Among them was Albino Cy Sip, one of the most highly respected residents of the Islands. A Filipino victim of the Japanese reign of terror was José Abad Santos, a justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. Some of the victims were humanely killed by shooting. Many Filipinos, however, were strung up by the feet until they died. This barbarity was perpetrated in the most crowded sections of Manila. For some curious reason, no Americans were treated in this way.

There are no bright spots to relieve the dark picture of the life of the Filipinos under the boot heel of Japan. Trade is stagnant, the shelves of the shops are becoming bare. The small steamers and motor launches which formerly brought life to the rivers of the country are gone—requisitioned by the army. Small sailing boats handle the trickle of river trade which persists. Many thousands of farmers have abandoned their homes and taken to the hills to join partisan bands. There are skirmishes with the Japanese almost every day.

Filipinos are glad to give up the custom of shaking hands. It relieves them of the necessity for a false gesture of friendship toward their oppressors. The low bow, in the Japanese style, has no traditional significance. But it has become an ironic symbol of deep and abiding hatred.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE GENTLEMEN who have the "campaign" in charge have been paying rather more attention to Grant during the past week than to his antagonist. . . . Grant, it appears, was accustomed after battle to walk over the field among the corpses thrusting his sword into each dead body.—*August 6, 1868.* . . . Blair [the Democratic candidate] . . . gets gradually drunker and drunker, and according to the last anecdote had to be stretched out full length in a railroad car, we suppose to prevent his legs from falling off.—*August 13, 1868.*

WELL-INFORMED and honorable men, knowing the difficulties of the work of government and fearing the consequences of error, hasten slowly and doubt intelligently at every step. They are, consequently, no match for bold and ready demagogues, unless they have public opinion behind them, like, to use one of the impeachment similes, "a strong wind blowing aft."—*August 13, 1868.*

ALL REASONABLE PRETEXTS for refusing to pay the obligations known as greenbacks have ceased to exist.—*August 13, 1868.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: . . . Collins (W.), "The Moonstone: A Tale" (Harper & Bros.) $1.50. . . . Dickens (C.), "Little Dorrit" (Ticknor & Fields) $1.50.—*August 13, 1868.*

RECENT ELECTIONS in Württemberg show that the unification movement is making progress in South Germany. . . . Prussia has many virtues, but a conciliatory demeanor is not one of them.—*August 20, 1868.*

LONDON, JULY 31, 1868.—Yesterday the greatest improvement that has been made in London within modern times, the Thames Embankment, was partially thrown open. —*August 20, 1868.*

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Let's Look at Labor

IV. HOW TO CHOKE UNIONS

BY VICTOR RIESEL

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, who has never been known as a swashbuckler, has ordered the state federations and city bodies in Texas, Arkansas, South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, and Colorado to challenge the anti-labor laws recently passed by their legislatures and to drag the state officials through all the courts of the country if necessary to disprove the validity of those laws. The usually cautious Mr. Green was moved to action by an extraordinarily dangerous threat to labor organization.

The Christian American Association, some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored anti-labor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine. All these laws show signs of common authorship, and the similarity of the lobbying tactics that put them over indicates central direction. On a national scale the C. A. A. was largely responsible for the sentiment back home that permitted many Congressmen to vote for the Smith-Connally act. Indeed, the wording of this act is similar to that of the nine state laws.

The C. A. A. works out of Houston, Texas. Its leaders are said to have set up headquarters there in order to have access to the political apparatus of Senator Pass-the-Biscuits-Pappy O'Daniel. Though it devotes most of its energy to fighting the labor movement, its leaders have wider horizons. On July 2, 1942, Lewis Valentine Ulrey, chairman of the association, wrote to Vance Muse, secretary:

> Personally, I firmly believe that we have come to Armageddon, the great struggle between Christianity and Jewish Marxism. The Talmudists were so successful in Russia, and by 1935 they had such open success with the New Deal in the United States, that they decided to openly restore the Sanhedrin, which they did by selecting, naming, and labeling "120 Outstanding Jews." These are the modern Jewish Sanhedrin members, or Elders of Zion. Rabbi Wise of New York is one; Felix Frankfurter is another. . . .
>
> Our Christian American movement is not anti-Semitic per se. . . . For the present, the Christian American movement fights hardest against radicalism and racketeering in labor organizations—most particularly the C. I. O.

Its efforts have not always succeeded. The legislature of Louisiana was not impressed by the C. A. A. line. It defeated a bill submitted by C. A. A. agents, and adopted a resolution saying that the organization would "set capital against labor, Negro against white, Catholic against Protestant, and Christian against Jew." It charged that representatives of the C. A. A. had "harassed, annoyed, and threatened" members of the state legislature for the promotion of legislation which would "create animosity, antagonism, and unrest among the employers and employees of this state and interfere with the harmonious relations between capital and labor." The Louisiana lawmakers then asked the FBI to investigate the organization. However, last February Muse wrote to the chief clerk of the Arkansas House of Representatives, "I have in my possession a letter from Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, dated July 6, 1942, in which he states that the FBI had no cause or inclination to investigate us." Furthermore, he said, "a representative of the Dies committee was prevailed upon to look over our books and records last summer and we were given a clean bill of health."

In Florida the C. A. A. was more successful. The Florida Act to Regulate the Activities and Affairs of Labor Unions, Their Officers, Agents, Members, Organizers, and Other Representatives combines the virtues of placing unions under strict state control and of prohibiting them from contributing financially to the New Deal's 1944 campaign chest. A few hours after it was passed Eddie Rickenbacker came through with congratulations.

For one thing, the Florida law gives the state the power to decide who shall and who shall not be union officials. Section 4 says:

> No person shall be granted a license or permit to act as a business agent in the state of Florida (1) who has not been a citizen of and has not resided in the United States for a period of more than ten years next prior to making application for such license or permit; (2) who has been convicted of a felony; (3) *who is not a person of good moral character.* [My emphasis.]

Each application is to be held for thirty days before the Secretary of State issues a license. During this time *any* person, union member or not, may file objections to issuance of the license. The application and objections are then considered by a board consisting of the Gov-

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ernor as chairman, the Secretary of State, and the Superintendent of Education. Thus a state political machine may enjoy the right to prevent an elected union official from taking office.

The law also forbids sitdown strikes, calls for submission of regular financial reports, ends secondary picketing, and sharply limits regular picketing. To make assurance doubly sure, the law provides that "an action may be commenced by the Attorney General of the state on complaint of any interested party for the suspension or revocation of the license of any business agent for the violation of this act." In effect, this opens the way to any business man or group to depose an officer of a union.

But the C. A. A.'s greatest success has been in its home state. The Manford law in Texas has sixteen sections crammed with prohibitions which "contravene every elementary right of trade unions [and] defy fairness and justice," according to a special A. F. of L. report on C. A. A. laws made available to me recently. The A. F. of L. points out that the Texas law goes farther than any other in giving the state control over the internal affairs of unions.

It stipulates, for example, that union officers must be elected by a majority vote. The Governor and other state officials can win office by a plurality vote; not so a union manager. In addition, union officers' terms are limited to one year. Labor unions are forbidden to make financial contributions to any political party or to any person running for political office, though no similar restriction is placed on chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, or other employer organizations opposed to unions. As in Florida, labor officials must be licensed. Moreover, the collection of union dues can be made a crime:

> It shall be unlawful for any labor union, its officers, agents, or any member, to make any charge or exaction, or to receive any moneys or initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments, or other pecuniary exactions, which will create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such union.

Who shall decide what is reasonable and what excessive? This provision could limit the strength and influence of a union by limiting its treasury.

The Texas law also opens the union's books to the public by providing that "any enforcement officer shall be entitled, upon demand subject to the approval of the Attorney General, at all reasonable times, to inspect such books, records, and accounts of such union." In an area where deputy sheriffs are sworn in casually as occasion arises, it would not be difficult to find an "enforcement officer" who would make the demand.

The A. F. of L. charges that if the state has power to limit the income of a labor union, then by the same principle it has power to limit the income of any religious group, any non-profit educational group, or any fraternal society; it continues:

> Of course, the power on the part of any state agency to limit the income of any person or group is the power to determine the life or death of that person or group. This provision, both by affirmative expression and by necessary implication, is of a distinctly dictatorial type in the tradition of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

The Kansas law, first of the C. A. A. bills to be passed, set the pattern for all in language and content. "Every person desiring to operate as a business agent in the state of Kansas," it says, "shall before doing so obtain a license by filing an application therefor with the Secretary of State." Here too the Attorney General is empowered, on the complaint of any interested party, to begin an action "for suspension or revocation of the license of any business agent for the violation of any provision of the act." And the union's records are open to the public: "The records provided for herein shall be made available by the Secretary of State to all persons for examination and taking of copies."

Senator W. Lee O'Daniel

Similar laws, all sponsored by the C. A. A., have been passed this year in Idaho, South Dakota, Arkansas, Colorado, and Mississippi. Philip Pearl, A. F. of L. publicity agent, recently revealed that new C. A. A. drives are being planned in Iowa, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The unions are fighting back. In Kansas, where officers of sixty unions with a combined membership of 175,000 have taken out licenses, bitter inter-union rivalry was forgotten when, on June 7, the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and even John L. Lewis's rebel United Mine Workers joined hands to challenge the toughest of these laws in a Topeka court. Arkansas unions have been busy circulating petitions for a popular referendum to repeal the anti-picketing law, which became effective June 10. Colorado unions have brought suit to test the constitutionality of the anti-labor law, and the Texas Federation of Labor, according to the latest reports from Houston, is preparing briefs for legal action.

In the East the United Labor Committee of Philadelphia, with strong support from Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers (C. I. O.), is preparing to fight the recent legislative ban on political contributions

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by unions. Recently leaders of the United Labor Committee and the American Labor League of New Jersey met with Alex Rose, New York State secretary of the American Labor Party, Charles Zimmerman, Charles Kerrigan, and other leaders of the Trade Union Committee of the American Labor Party to plan joint action against threatened C. A. A. legislation. They represent some 3,000,000 A. F. of L. and C. I. O. workers. This was the first time in years that the labor parties of three Eastern states had met in a joint conference to plan unified action.

However, there is not yet enough labor activity against organized reaction. The joint conference has been the only comprehensive move made to combat it, aside from sporadic attacks such as the A. F. of L.'s offensive against the C. A. A. and the United Automobile Workers' campaign against Ku Klux Klan elements in Detroit. Many of the nation's powerful international unions, either cynical because of their size and financial strength, like Lewis's United Mine Workers, or feeling secure because their own state legislatures have not yet passed C. A. A. bills, spend thousands of dollars to maintain Washington lobbies but nothing to investigate and expose the anti-labor agitators and potential men on horseback in their home territory. All important unions have legislative and educational departments, but not one in the whole country has an "anti-fascist committee." With millions in their treasuries, the unions could cripple proto-fascist anti-labor organizations by planting investigators to get information to be used later in exposing them.

The Christian Americans, America Firsters, and similar groups are winning by default. Their strength is being underestimated, their intentions judged too charitably. A high C. I. O. official, progressive, intelligent, and an excellent organizer, told me in Detroit recently that Gerald L. K. Smith had no influence in the Middle West but was being built up as a horror myth by Eastern publicity. Yet a check of the 1942 Republican Senatorial primaries in Michigan showed that Smith polled more than 100,000 votes. He ran third in a three-cornered race, but a man who persuades 100,000 people to vote for him can hardly be said to have no influence. Observers were surprised that he got so many. In view of the recent race riots in Detroit, it would appear that the type of mind to which he appeals is still very much with us. A Gerald L. K. Smith in the Senate would make the late Huey Long seem restrained.

If the New Deal's defeat at the polls in 1944 deprives labor of its protection, men like Smith will become the vigilantes of a conservative Republican Administration. Then labor will be in for its hardest battle since the heyday of the Pinkertons and the Robber Barons.

[*This is the fourth article of a series of seven on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The fifth will appear in two weeks.*]

In the Wind

A FRIEND OF HAROLD L. ICKES recently tried to telephone him at his office. After calling the proper number, he took part in the following conversation:

"Interior."

"Mr. Ickes's office, please."

"Whose office?"

"Ickes's."

"How do you spell it, please?"

"I-C-K-E-S. Ickes. He's Secretary of the Interior."

"One moment, please. I will connect you with Information."

FOR MOVIE FANS: "Battle of Britain," a film made by Frank Capra for the United States Army, is being shown to enthusiastic audiences in England. The American public has not been allowed to see it. . . . The Legion of Decency, official Catholic movie guide, lists "For Whom the Bell Tolls" as "Objectionable in part. Objection: Suggestive situation; indication of justification of homicide; excessive brutality." . . . *Variety* reports from Hollywood that Warner Brothers is reshooting part of the finale of "This Is the Army" because words of the song "We're Dressed to Kill" "are not symbolic of the humane manner in which the United States has waged war." To spare the sensibility of the movie audience the words will be "We're Out to Win."

MAN-POWER: A Cleveland department store now hands its customers leaflets offering them jobs as clerks. . . . In St. Louis a department store runs an outdoor employment office and hires people off the street. . . . A New Jersey varnish company is considering a plan to give its employees "bounties" of $10 or $15 if they bring in new employees who last three months.

THE NEGRO (REAR) SECTION of a bus in Miami, Florida, was full. The new passenger, a forty-seven-year-old Negro woman, sat in the last seat of the white section. Result, arrest. Charge, disorderly conduct. Sentence, a day in jail.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A newspaper in Norway recently carried this want ad: "Will trade well-used map of Africa for a good map of Italy." . . . The Nazis are confiscating the money and property of Norwegian traitors who have made fortunes out of their building contracts with the occupation forces. Most of these so-called "barracks barons" are now bankrupt or back where they started from. . . . Many Czech manufacturers have been asking payment in advance or substantial deposits on orders from Germany. The Prague radio warns that such manufacturers "are taking the risk of being treated with great severity."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The French Revolution Goes On

BY ANDRE MAROSELLI

MORE than a century and a half has passed since the people of France stormed the prison of the Bastille and by that act lit the torch of a great continuing revolution in the world. The struggle has never ceased between the partisans of the French Revolution and its adversaries. Today in France the enemies of the revolution appear to have the upper hand. But the conflict will not end until the forces of progress have achieved a new order based on political, economic, and international democracy—on liberty, equality, and fraternity.

I am proud to have played a part in this struggle. As a Senator of the Republic and a militant democrat, I was named as a hostage and thrown into prison, there to share the suffering of France's best sons. I was fortunate enough to escape the firing squad, but for long weeks we went to sleep at night sure that the next morning we would be lined up against a wall.

With the aid of our allies I managed to get out of France and to join other parliamentarians of the Republic in London. There I immediately entered the service of General de Gaulle. My past career authorizes me, I think, to speak for those who have remained faithful to the spirit of the French Revolution; the message I bring is of their devotion to the Republic, their support of General de Gaulle, their confidence in our allies.

First of all, I would emphasize the French people's unshaken devotion to the Republic. They have not been influenced by the lies of those who attribute the fall of France to the "corruption" of the Third Republic. Rather the prestige of the Republic and of its elected leaders has been enhanced by the statements of Léon Blum and Edouard Daladier at Riom, the historic letter of Jeanneney and Herriot denouncing the Pétain regime, the assassination of Marx Dormoy, the death of three deputies—Peri, shot by the Germans, and Catelas and Michel, guillotined by Vichy's order—the arrest of many parliamentarians and trade-union leaders, the courage of workers engaged in sabotage, the heroism of the *francs-tireurs*. In the same measure French fascism and the military dictatorship have been forever dishonored by accepting the support of Hitler. A pamphleteer once wrote that the Republic was fair and well loved under the Empire; you may be sure that it has never been fairer or more beloved than under Pétain.

Just as during the French Revolution, the words patriot and republican are synonymous today. By that I do not mean that *only* the republicans or *all* the republicans are participating in the underground fight against Hitlerism; no party, no organization, no committee—not even that of National Liberation—can claim a monopoly of patriotism. But for reasons easy to understand the most militant forces are the workers, the peasants, the *petits bourgeois*, and the anti-fascist intellectuals who combined in 1934 to defend the Republic and who remain united to defend France. For them the struggle against Hitlerism is no novelty; it is a continuation, under singularly difficult conditions, of the battle that began on February 6, 1934, against the enemies of the Republic.

The second point I wish to underline is that French republicans support General de Gaulle. I do not mean to balance one name against another, a general against a marshal, or even a general against other generals. And lest there be any doubt, allow me to hail the arrival in the United States of General Giraud, soldier of two world wars, patriot, commander-in-chief of the French armies, whose courage and dignity have won universal respect. As for the support given to General de Gaulle, the reasons for it are very simple. In the first place, he has become the symbol of resistance to the Nazi invader and his Vichy accomplices. We have no right to forget that in June, 1940, while so many other honest men pondered which road to take, General de Gaulle saved the honor of France. In the second place, more as a result of the course of events than of men's decisions, the Free French committee in London has become a rallying-point against the men and ideas of Vichy. Eight or ten months ago it seemed that the attempt was being made to launch a movement in North Africa which would offset the democratic platform of the National Committee in London. Into the high councils of this movement began to filter men well known for their participation in the fascist agitation before 1940 and in the politics of collaboration after 1940. These men seemed to find it amazingly simple to leave continental France for North Africa, to join a group which included even the Count of Paris. We grew anxious. Before and after the landing of American troops, vigilant republicans, rightly or wrongly, began to fear that financiers, industrialists, and former ministers of the Vichy government were seeking to have the British and American authorities ratify the regime imposed on unhappy France by German arms. Was the plot against the Republic to continue unchecked? Was the so-called "national rev-

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THE POPE'S PROTEST

Since the tide of war began to beat against the walls of Fortress Europe, the propaganda efforts of the Axis have become less and less effective. Talk about a negotiated peace, attempts to drive a wedge between Russia and the western Allies have small results when the fascist powers are in retreat on the eastern front and in Sicily. But just at this critical hour for the Axis forces the Pope has given them an invaluable weapon against the Allies. No direct Nazi propaganda, however cleverly calculated, could have such widespread and damaging consequences as the protest against the bombing of Rome issued as if in a spirit of pure sorrow by the head of the Catholic church. By putting the Allied and Axis powers on an equal footing ("we called upon the belligerents on both sides, if they wanted to hold the dignity of their countries high and the honor of their arms, to respect . . .") the Pope subtly betrays the moral position of the enemies of the Axis. By dwelling on the destruction wrought by Allied planes despite his earnest pleas, he manages to present the Allies as indifferent to religious feeling and the sacred monuments of Holy Rome. And he concludes with the recommendation that all Catholics pray for an early peace—a recommendation which may easily release a new barrage of propaganda for a negotiated peace from appeasers and pro-Nazi elements everywhere. The effect of the Pope's statement will be to lower the prestige of the Allies in all neutral, especially in Catholic, countries. If it was not deliberately directed to this end, it was an ill-considered, irresponsible utterance. And the Pope is not given to tossing off statements without thought of their effect.

olution"—which is, in fact, an anti-French counter-revolution—to be saved at all costs? Was the work of Marshal Pétain, spokesman for the builders of concentration camps and the teachers of racism, to be preserved? After democracy had been strangled with the aid of Hitler, was it to be kept in its grave by consent of the Allies?

Our preoccupation with these dangers was bound to draw us toward the French committee in London. We knew that General de Gaulle, like us, wanted to drive out the evil *bergers* and with them the evil Bergerets. We knew that De Gaulle's presence in North Africa would cause Pétain's portraits to disappear, end the anti-democratic propaganda which was making forays into our youth and the army, and close the concentration camps whose existence dishonored the name of France.

Today French republicans support the Committee of Liberation as earlier they supported the London National Committee. The Committee of Liberation has made clear that it is not a government; its members were not elected by the French people; its composition does not give a true picture of our resistance since it includes no workers or farmers. But the committee has taken charge of French interests. It is, to use an American legal term, a sort of voluntary "trustee," or to use the more exact French phrase, a *gérant d'affaires*. It will coordinate resistance by supplying arms and means of action to the fighters within France. It will bring France into the war again on the side of the Allies. It will administer the liberated territories under the laws of the Republic. And when France is free again, it will hand over its power to the chosen representatives of the people.

The French people, and they alone, have the right to choose the government France shall have. The duty of all Frenchmen faithful to the tradition of the French Revolution is to recall this cardinal point of republican doctrine, set forth in the immortal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. According to the law of the Republic, as soon as half of the general councils are liberated they will constitute an assembly charged with the administration of the country, and must within one month call for general elections. If by chance this law should be violated, if, under one of those pretexts so convenient to aspiring dictators, elections should not be called, another provision of the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1793 declares that "insurrection is, for the whole people and for every section of the people, not only a right but an absolute duty."

We can avoid such a situation by following the Committee of Liberation *with our eyes open*. We have confidence in its two presidents and its members. We ask that they discharge their duty by clearing out the fascists in civil and military posts. We demand an immediate end to the anti-Semitism which has been encouraged by the illegal revocation of the Crémieux decree.

The third thing I want to speak of is the confidence that the French republicans place in our allies. This confidence is one of the principal elements in French resistance; anything which weakens it weakens our efforts. It is the duty of us who are outside France to cement and safeguard those friendships on which France depends for its liberation. We shall not fulfil that duty by arrogance or demagogic xenophobia.

Our compatriots in the underground, the real builders of a new Free France, will never forget our country's debt to the people and the governments of Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The immense debt owed by all humanity to the Soviet Union has particular meaning for the French people, who today recognize the need of restoring the traditional alliance of France and Russia. Each day the French republicans learn

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new lessons from the admirable example of the Russian people. If they have any request to place before the Allied governments, it is that every effort be made to relieve those men and women who until now have borne the full weight of the war.

French republicans are equally loyal to Franco-British friendship. They know that tomorrow this amity will be one of the keystones of international organization. They know the full measure of responsibility that France incurred in the most tragic hour of its history when Marshal Pétain, preferring fascism to democracy, refused to move his government to Algiers and continue the struggle at Britain's side. They will never forget that without Winston Churchill, General de Gaulle would not have been able to issue his first call, to form his committee, or organize his propaganda.

Finally, the French people have confidence in the United States and its President. In their eyes the American people are the champions of democracy. They recall the bonds that linked the French Revolution and the American Revolution, the fraternal ties between the spiritual parents of the declarations of the Rights of Man that were drawn up at nearly the same time by the French and American democrats.

The French people are acquainted with the statements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill which affirm that their political liberty will be restored. If they accept without discussion the authority of the Committee of Liberation, if they are willing to close their eyes to its faults and mistakes—reserving their full anger for the partisans of collaboration—it is because they believe that the committee, as an agent for the restoration of France's national sovereignty, has the indorsement of President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill.

For the last 150 years the powers of reaction have leagued together on various occasions to stifle reason, truth, and liberty. But each time, as soon as they could, the French people have turned with renewed faith to the Republic. Today as in the past they have taken their stand for the revolutionary concepts on which the Republic was founded.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

PROPAGANDA in Germany appears to be a thing of the past. It no longer has any effect. This is amply shown by the total failure of the attempt to use R. A. F. bombings to stir up a fury of hate against the English.

The propaganda machine did its utmost. For months it surpassed itself in the matter of invectives. It made every effort to convince the public that the English had begun this kind of warfare and that they alone were infamous enough to commit such barbarities. Its success was nil. In recent months thousands of letters from Germany have fallen into the hands of the Allies with the capture of the prisoners to whom they were written. Many were from the bombed regions. In most of them the bombings and their effects were described more or less fully. Not two in a thousand contained a word of hatred for the English. Obviously the Germans realize that the English are justified in making these attacks, that their course of action is perfectly normal.

The ineffectiveness of the authorities' feverish campaign has had this curious result: they are now overwhelming the people with reproaches for feeling so little hate. A front-page article in the *Völkische Beobachter* of July 3 heaps abuse on the non-haters. It is entitled "Moral Shirkers"; and a moral shirker is described as one who appears indifferent to the hate urge. "Who has not met that kind of 'innocent'?" the writer asks. "He reads his paper, listens to broadcasts, talks with friends, and yet there are certain things he simply does not want to know. He does not want to hear that the Cologne cathedral has been bombed by the British. He has his own opinion about it, and he avoids hearing what others think. Such moral shirkers are incomprehensible. They are cowards without realizing it and unworthy of the times we live in."

The Swedish newspaper *Arbetaren* of July 13 printed the following brief dispatch from Germany: A Dortmund workman named Heigehern said publicly that it was time to erect a monument to Field Marshal Göring in the Ruhr. The man was arrested and sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

There are signs that the food problem in Germany is becoming more serious. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of July 11 devotes an article to the subject beginning with the ominous words: "Complaints are being heard among the people that the food situation is hardly better than in 1918, and that with respect to certain articles it is worse." The newspaper opposed to these complaints a comparison of the 1918 rations with those of today and came to the conclusion that only the ration of marmalade is smaller; the ration of meat is the same, and all other rations are larger.

That may be so. Although the rations as they are fixed on paper are at times not actually available, it has so far been possible to say that people get enough, in quantity, to fill their stomachs. But quantity alone, over an extended period, does not suffice. The German diet is in fact disgustingly monotonous and unappetizing. As a woman wrote sarcastically to her husband at the front, "Yesterday we had toast and potatoes for supper; today we had potatoes and toast." In the fourth year of war the people are beginning to feel that they are just as miserably nourished as in 1918, or even more so.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Brecht: Poetry, Drama, and the People

THE TRIAL OF LUCULLUS: A Verse Play for the Radio by Bertolt Brecht. Translated by H. R. Hays. New Directions. Bound edition $1. Pamphlet edition 50 cents.

IT IS curious to watch the delayed and erratic flow of foreign literature into English translation. Rilke came in a few years ago like a tidal wave; then came Kierkegaard nearly a century late; only yesterday Stefan George arrived; today it is the turn of Bertolt Brecht. This is an important event for all who are interested in present tendencies of poetry and the drama, though it means reopening all those problems of poetry and the left, poetry and propaganda, poetry and the people, which are assumed to have passed away with the red decade. As to the drama, it is not only the leftist brand that has disappeared; there is simply no drama at all these days with any quality or any future in it. That at least is one's general impression of the English-speaking theater, and that is why, not for the first time in theater history, one turns eagerly to translations from the German.

Bertolt Brecht is one of the best living poets and one of the very few living dramatists worth mentioning. Unfortunately, however, his lyric poetry is as unsuccessful in translation as George's, yet for precisely opposite reasons: George uses a kind of poetic diction which in translation is merely precious; Brecht uses a tricky kind of colloquialism which in translation is merely commonplace. The explanation seems to be that the German language and German literature are, in some respects, at an earlier stage than English and that therefore a German poet can still adopt either a traditional poetic diction or a traditional popular style without making a fool of himself. George is indeed the leading modern in the literary tradition of Goethe and Hoelderlin; Brecht, the leading *modern* in a popular tradition that goes back to Luther and Hans Sachs. I emphasize the word modern, for Brecht is not a pure folk poet but also the parodist of folk poetry, a sarcastic mind, superficially anti-literary, fundamentally lyrical, tough, angular, righteously indignant, all that Auden in his satiric days tried to be. But Auden's wit was always that of a clever and rather priggish undergraduate, and since a poet cannot be perpetually precocious, one guessed that he would take to religion. Brecht, on the other hand, has always been an engaging blend of introvert and extrovert, never so tender-minded that the tough exterior looked like affectation. More successfully than almost anyone else he fused the idiom and rhythm of prose with a resilient verse. In his attempt to break down the disastrous modern antithesis of highbrow and lowbrow he created out of the vernacular something we are not often vouchsafed these days—a poetic style, firm, simple, and ironic.

In the course of the past twenty years Brecht has written some six kinds of drama. He began with plays that were at once expressionistic and psychological; second, he wrote the most telling satiric librettos (for Kurt Weill and Hanns Eisler) at least since W. S. Gilbert and probably since John Gay; third, he invented a much-publicized didactic drama in which choruses, chanting to an orchestral accompaniment, purveyed a political gospel; fourth, he has scribbled some propaganda pieces close to the style and the level of current popular drama, such as "Señora Carrar's Rifles" and the script of Fritz Lang's "Hangmen Also Die"; fifth, he has attempted to present a composite picture of the Third Reich in his most ambitious project, in verse and prose, "Misery and Fear," one scene of which is shortly to be published in *The Nation;* sixth, he has attempted several historical plays whose meaning is entirely contemporary. "The Trial of Lucullus" is one of these.

"The Trial of Lucullus" tells how a great Roman conqueror appears after his death before a judge and jury who are to decide whether he should go to Hades or to the Elysian Fields. The jury, consisting of a farmer, a teacher, a fishwife, a baker, and a courtesan, allows Lucullus to summon as witnesses the people portrayed on a frieze representing his triumphal procession. All the evidence is against Lucullus except that he brought back from the East a cherry tree, that he wept over the destruction of books, and that he encouraged good cooking. The story ends thus:

> And from the high bench they rise up
> The ancestors of the world-to-be,
> The world with many hands to take
> With many mouths to eat,
> The hard to deceive, the firmly united,
> The joyous world-to-be.
> The tribunal withdraws to consider the verdict.

"The Trial of Lucullus" is neither a lengthy nor a major work. It is a short "radio play in verse," a play in which the military-heroic ideal of conquest is poignantly denounced by the common man and in which psychological distance is achieved by austerity of style and remoteness of period. There is nothing very complex about this, but since when we hear nowadays of a "radio play in verse" by an author with propagandist intentions we forthwith prepare for the worst, a few words of explanation are in order. What are we afraid of? In the first place we fear the politics, because we associate political drama with our own abortive proletarian literature of the now despised thirties. But Brecht's political emphasis is neither a phase nor a fad; he was political before the thirties and remains political after. "The Trial of Lucullus" is not of the Mike Gold mint. One must simply admit that from the artistic point of view political emotion is just as good a basis for a poet as any other and an excellent point of contact, at least now that the war is on, with his audience.

Our second fear is fear of poetry in drama. It is true that T. S. Eliot straightened out the theory of it for us when he observed that dramatic poetry was a specific type of poetry not an arbitrary union of two modes, the dramatic and the poetic, and when in his own dramatic verse he provided the recipe—a racy, modern speech on top, a tremendous emotional pressure underneath. But the fact remains that neither

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Eliot nor Auden nor any of the others achieved more than an effective dialogue; the incomplete state of the brilliant "Sweeney Agonistes" bears eloquent witness to this. No more than Tennyson and Swinburne, therefore, have the moderns created a verse drama. So we are skeptical. Does Bertolt Brecht remove our doubts? Not altogether, in so slight a work as this, but at least we feel in reading "The Trial of Lucullus" the *possibility* of a modern verse drama—giving full and equal weight to both words.

Our third fear is our fear of the radio, for here too we have been disappointed. Like the cinema, the radio has been regarded as a possible means to a renewal of good popular art, but in fact both radio and cinema have become more and more commercialized, and most directors who were experimenters twenty years ago are complacent hacks today. Serious writers were slow to find the peculiar potentialities of the new mediums and continued to bring stage plays before the microphone and the camera. When the poetic radio play did arrive, it was bound to be merely the affair of special "workshops," and anyway, if MacLeish's efforts are typical, it was more bombastic and pretentious than popular. Does Brecht have a remedy for all this? Of course not. But his play is wholly conceived in terms of radio, that is, it is simply an aural time-sequence with visual imagery instead of spectacle, with a carefully planned rhythm and a musical symmetry, with a poetry that consists of the best spoken words in the best order, with a bias or emotional prejudice which listeners share, with a tang and a hardheadedness which they can enjoy. Nevertheless, I cannot imagine the play being a commercial success. It is simple, but simplicity is itself a style, and a style very different from that of the show business.

"The Trial of Lucullus," then, shares the fate of most proletarian literature in that it is published by a minority press and is noticed only by the literary journals. This is not the fault of Bertolt Brecht. His difficulty is that in our time the good in art can only be popular by an accident, and even when the masses enjoy Brecht they enjoy him only for what he has in common with Stefan Heym and other third-raters who write thrillers about the Nazis. The prerequisite of a great popular art, as Whitman and other realistic democrats have allowed, is a great populace and not a people drugged by opiates every bit as strong as religion. Until this condition is fulfilled, Bertolt Brecht will be important only to the intelligentsia; *after* it is fulfilled, paradoxically enough, propaganda will be gratuitous. ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Prelude in Sicily

COMBINED OPERATIONS: THE OFFICIAL STORY OF THE COMMANDOS. The Macmillan Company. $2.

ON JULY 10 an Anglo-American army began to harvest on the Sicilian beaches a crop sown in Britain just three ears and one month earlier. It was then—a week after the vacuation from Dunkirk—that Britain began to prepare to it back. The situation was truly desperate, for both trained oops and weapons were lacking even for defense of the land. Yet at that hour Winston Churchill and the Imperial General Staff approved a plan for training a special force designed to harass the enemy along his vast newly won coast line.

So the Commandos were born, and within two weeks they had made their first reconnaissance raid across the Channel. This book tells their subsequent story down to the landings in North Africa in November, 1942—the greatest combined operation of all times until the invasion of Sicily. As a result of the experiences of the Commandos new methods of training for amphibious warfare were evolved and later applied to large numbers of British, American, and Dominion troops. Soldiers, sailors, and airmen were taught how to work together in perfecting the arts of a three-dimensional offensive. How well the lessons were learned we can now appreciate.

Men who volunteer for commando service go through a course which is both rigorous and unconventional. Great emphasis is placed on the individual, and everything is done to develop self-confidence and self-reliance. There is a story —not in this book—of an officer detached for commando training who was ordered to report at the other end of the country within forty-eight hours but was given no railroad pass. He arrived a few hours late and was severely reprimanded by a superior, who waved aside his explanation of the difficulties involved with the question: "Don't you know how to steal a car?" This yarn may be apocryphal, but it illustrates the fact that commandos are encouraged to forget the usual rules of military etiquette just as they are taught to become expert in those forms of mayhem which British magistrates have been wont to condemn as peculiarly un-British—knifing, sandbagging, and garroting.

The Commandos have conducted a wide variety of operations in many different lands. The party which one dark night neatly gathered up the six guards of a Nazi-held lighthouse comprised only a handful of men; other raids have been made by comparatively large numbers. The geographical range of their adventures has been immense. The Commandos' farthest north has been Spitzbergen, where a radio station and coal mines operating for German benefit were destroyed; their farthest south, Madagascar, where they were in the van when that Vichy-held island was invaded.

The two most important enterprises described in this book are the attacks on St. Nazaire and Dieppe. The first of these was an expensive but highly successful raid which caused great damage to an important U-boat base and inflicted heavy personnel losses on the Germans. The second is given a great deal of space here, but many of the details necessary for a final judgment on the operation are withheld. We are not told, for instance, what was the real objective of the raid and how far it was achieved. It is described as a "reconnaissance in force" intended to test out the strength of the enemy defenses, and the author asserts that the lessons gained have proved immensely valuable. Maybe so, but they were certainly extremely costly. This was partly due to bad luck, which prevented surprise being achieved by the eastern flanking party, but the heaviest losses were suffered in the course of the frontal attack on the town of Dieppe itself. There on a narrow strip of beach, shut in by two beetling cliffs bristling with artillery, the Canadians and the Commandos strove mightily but in vain to establish a foothold. It is difficult to understand why so much effort was expended at the center

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after it must have become clear that the main flanking parties had not succeeded in reaching their objectives. The one group that was able to report "mission completed" was Lord Lovat's, which at a comparatively low cost destroyed the heavy battery some six miles west of the town.

Although this book has no author's name on its title-page, it is the most open of secrets that it was written by Hilary St. George Saunders—one-half of the well-known mystery writing team of Francis Beeding. One cannot praise the book more highly than by saying that it fully maintains the standards of the series of books, prepared by Mr. Saunders and others, in which the British government has reported the course of the war to the people. The pictures and maps are excellent.

KEITH HUTCHISON

American Beginnings

WESTERN STAR. By Stephen Vincent Benét. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

AFTER the success of "John Brown's Body," Stephen Vincent Benét began work on a much longer poem which was to have dealt with the beginnings of America and the long filling-in process, the drive to the West. "Western Star" was to have been the first book of the long poem.

As published now, "Western Star" is an incomplete and unfinished work and should, in justice to Mr. Benét, be judged as such. While long episodes appear to be complete, there are passages here and there, some of them, in fact, in prose, which could be nothing more than notes for work which the poet intended to finish later. One also finds a few ideas expressed which, while interesting enough in themselves, are not quite proper in the sense that they don't fit the subject and method of the poem. Surely they would have been elided had Mr. Benét lived long enough to complete what easily could have been his major work.

Taken as it is in its unpolished and unedited stage, "Western Star" remains a moving and entertaining work and, I think, a timely one. There is a sometimes rollicking and sometimes starry-eyed prelude, the most finished part of the book, and then in episodic fashion Benét tells the story of the people who settled Jamestown and Massachusetts, examines their reasons for doing so, describes the ordeal of their voyages and the frequently painful and bloody task of getting their roots down in the soil of an almost virgin land.

This is the story of the men who propagandized the little people of England into believing there was gold and plenty of it in the New World and who ended up by believing it themselves, the story of the true adventurers like Raleigh, of the administrators like Delaware, but mostly it is the story of Dickon Heron, the apprentice who became a free landowner in Virginia, the first Englishman to plant tobacco, the true gold, and who lost his life to the Indians; and it is the story of Matthew Lanyard, the good Puritan.

Mr. Benét was one of the few poets who succeeded in writing poetry at sustained length and on a relatively popular level without at the same time being cheap and false. "Western Star" is easy to read; it moves along, whether in the quick short steps of those portions dealing with Dickon or the more sedate passages devoted to Matthew and the Puritans, with a definite propulsion which only rarely fails. No matter how impressed we may be with the poet's intentions, or what we consider them to be, "Western Star" is in toto not a great work. It will in all likelihood be a popular one, and this is a good thing. Poetry has tended to move too far away from the stream of life in appeal if not in subject, and I for one am glad that Mr. Benét has increased its area of communication.

CHARLES ALLDREDGE

The Old Technique

THE BATTLE FOR BUENOS AIRES. By Sax Bradford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

IT IS not really an accident that a book with such a title as this was published on the very day of the coup d' état in Buenos Aires. Everyone who had been watching Argentine affairs since Pearl Harbor knew that something had to happen there. The book is a description of that explosive period of inaction which marked Argentina's first attitude toward the World War. People who do not understand what is occurring now in the Argentine might look here for their answer.

The author sets out quietly and seriously to tell about Nazi penetration. His material is not sensational in being new; it is just the old, incredible story. It has been pointed out by our own State Department, by the newspapers of the whole hemisphere, and even by detailed reports of a special investigating committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies. We all know that the ambassador, von Thermann, tried to send a radio transmitter into Peru as diplomatic baggage, and that Berlin provides Argentine papers with the Transocean news service free of charge. What we have been slow to realize, however, is that this campaign of the Nazis is no different from their penetration—and presumably their purpose—in any of the occupied countries of Europe. In the Argentine every factor of a pre-blitz situation is present—the frightened autocrats, the Communist bugaboo, the political-minded church, the morbid minorities (in this case European refugee groups, such as the Ukrainians), the mistrust of neighboring countries (so unsuitable to the Western Hemisphere), and finally the interruption of democratic procedures. The Germans supplied organization, funds, zealous Nazi party men, and pressure on their normally friendly compatriots. And now they have revolution.

The revolution in the Argentine is in a sense more serious than the invasion; that is, the attempt to destroy democratic government is more dangerous when it comes from within a country than from the hands of a foreign enemy. The Germans are certainly there, but they did not create the situation which gives them scope. The rich landowners, the autocratic army, the myopic clergy, the statesmen who failed to educate the great back country and to incorporate it in the national life—such groups as these are responsible for the state of their nation. The author, although he is justified in skirting the complexities of Argentine internal politics, is quite aware of this. I think he clouds the issue by his opinion that Buenos Aires is not really American but a spiritual extension of Europe, and for this reason reacts as the European countries

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did to a Nazi campaign. Uruguay and Brazil are equally European in their cultural alignment, but they rose in healthy indignation against the German methods. The simple fact is that the Argentine was susceptible to Nazi activities because it was afraid of democracy—a fact which cannot be too strongly or too often repeated.

Now the oligarchy, who had been afraid they would have to live in a world dominated by a victorious Germany, are beginning to fear that they will have to face a victorious Brazil and Chile instead. This is a good omen for a victory of the United Nations, but it means nothing for the cause of democracy in the Argentine. That has still to be fought out; that is the real battle of Buenos Aires. Our impression that the Argentine people are sound and will in the end prevail is an indication of the author's faith, in a book largely given over to sensational disclosures. Consider that Damonte Taborda's committee brought out accurate, detailed reports of the Nazi activities in the face of opposition from almost every government official, and of the most disheartening inaction. The two newspapers of Buenos Aires consistently and courageously criticized the inaction and connivance of their government. The pressure of public opinion actually did drive von Thermann home—though the government declined to rebuke him. There is a rapidly maturing middle class in Buenos Aires—with a majority of the essentially liberty-loving North Italians—and one cannot believe that these people will be held down forever by any clique.

The author also makes it clear that we North Americans have no ground for condescension. Passing over such items as the Condor-Lati line's rushing propaganda from Rome to the Argentine on gas provided by a North American company, or the self-interest of the cattlemen's lobby in Washington, he dissects the faults of the tourist, the business man, and the foreign official of the United States. We have done nothing to lend even moral support to the forces of democracy in the other Americas. It is a good thing for us to read this book, which brings together more fully and more clearly than before the story of Germany's power in our hemisphere. We had better realize that it *has* happened here—and face our responsibility.

ELIZABETH WILDER

"This Terrible Mystery"

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Lewis Sowden. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

IT IS Mr. Sowden's thesis that "these last three years have brought South Africa to the threshold of a new era in its history, an era which must bring decisive departure from the outlook and policy of the past and development along new lines and in accordance with new concepts." There can be no doubt that South Africa needs some such change of outlook and policy, but the evidence Mr. Sowden marshals to support his thesis that the change is impending is not exactly overwhelming. In fact, when he outlines the problems of the Union, suggests their genesis, and states the views entertained by the conflicting political groups, he provides the data to refute the optimism which he cultivates. Fortunately or unfortunately he is temperamentally unable to concede that the evil policies he holds up to scorn may be victorious in the

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future as they have been in the past. To him his own case seems so sound, so inevitably right, that he cannot convince himself that it may be decisively rejected. He quotes admirable sentiments in his support from Prime Minister Jan Smuts, but he fails to recall that Smuts has also said, "Look how old Africa is, how strangely made, how unaltered. What is there in it that baffles us? Brilliant men come here to solve its problems and go away defeated. But that is why it holds us, it has this terrible mystery."

For the Union of South Africa is a nation that no one would think of inventing if it did not already exist. It is a seething mass of terrifying problems, fateful difficulties, awe-inspiring troubles. Every other British dominion, even Eire, is a placid land by comparison. Every economic problem to which modern society is heir is in the Union exasperated by being expressed in a context of racial and cultural conflict. Britain versus Boer, white versus black, Occidental versus Oriental—these issues are acute and enduring. Mr. Sowden candidly outlines them for the general reader, no one better. He sometimes pursues them into rather tiresome detail, as in his discussion of the Boer language. But perhaps even that is to the good, for it makes clear that in South Africa even linguistics is a political issue. He shows how the whites have jockeyed themselves into the position of disadvantaging themselves to disadvantage the blacks, and spent incredible energy to insure that they shall not be rescued from their situation. He shows how the introduction of Indians as a labor force about eighty years ago has injected into the already overburdened Union a race conflict so intense that it has already produced a leader of the oppressed famous the world around, Mahatma Gandhi. It is perhaps fortunate that many Americans will get their first introduction to these difficulties from Mr. Sowden, whose calmness and balance of mind approach flaccidity, rather than from a man with more iron in his personality and pen who might make them as exasperating as they really are.

And these racial conflicts go on within an economy which Mr. Sowden, following expert testimony of many writers, correctly describes as precariously balanced, if balanced at all. It is founded on gold. But since this foundation is an uncertain quantity, the struggle to find an alternative has necessarily been undertaken, thus far with little success. Probably no more impressive object lesson in the futility of subsidized production in agriculture can be had than the case of South Africa. Mr. Sowden minces no words in demonstrating the shaky nature of the Union's economy.

Yet with this lurid backdrop in plain sight of the audience, Mr. Sowden insists on sketching a drama of rehabilitation that, to my mind, is so compounded of the miraculous as to be quite unbelievable. He would have it that the present war is rapidly purging away the Union's past, that its citizens are being shorn of their inherited prejudices, and that the next step is toward a Utopia which by contrast sharply reveals the shocking character of present-day reality. Only those powerfully supplied with the will-to-believe will follow Mr. Sowden. His undiscussed premise is a mass conversion for which there is no historical precedent. He lacks a tragic sense of life and destiny, without which no one should write about the Union of South Africa.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Give It B-Minus

FRIDAY, THANK GOD! By Fern Rives. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE spiritual hazards, the occupational disorders, of the teaching profession have seldom been the subject of serious and sympathetic treatment in literature; what we more often get is either scathing satirical caricature or squashy sentimentality, Ichabod Crane or Mr. Chips, or their female counterparts. Fern Rives's catchily entitled novel is an attempt in the right direction, with chapters and passages that dispose the reader to think, How good this is, for a change! But the treatment as a whole is not quite serious—I do not mean solemn—enough: the intention strays into frivolity, and both events and characters seem not so much observed, or even imagined, as supposed, or contrived, with an eye, perhaps, on Hollywood. The extension of the novel's commodity value being what it is, is there a novelist, however austere, who does not cast so much as one single sidelong ogle in the direction of Paramount or Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer?

In devising a structure for her narrative and establishing a unity of time, the author has confined the events of the story to the period of a single week, Friday to Friday, inclusive. This convention imposes considerable strain on the reader's capacity for suspension of disbelief; for even in the most hectic pedagogical lives, it is hardly credible that the time chart should include an attempt at murder, an attempt at adultery, an attempt at political seduction, and an attempt to discharge an incompetent teacher for incompetence. Truer to life, perhaps, is the fact that none of these events comes off quite as scheduled, and in the end we find the characters putting brave and happy faces on what would seem to be, in each instance, the second choice.

One may likewise demur a little at some of the characters. It is gratifying that Miss Rives has not repeated the stock types, nor been too insistent on symbolic figures; and it is also gratifying to find her heroine plausible, if superior, and comprehensible, if perplexed. But such glamorous female gym teachers as Virginia Kelly seem unduly atypical; and such a star of the morning as Jeff Ward must be the exception rather than the rule among principals, even the go-getters with political ambitions. Moreover, the young, as presented in these pages, seem just a shade too starry-eyed; there is only one mean type and none of the specters that haunt our lassitude, those sex-hipped little wenches and callow "jerks" who neither can, nor want to, learn anything, and are tolerable only by comparison with their parents, who are the same stuff, only older and uglier.

With a little more passion, a little more perception, a little more patience, a little less delusion, a little better prose style Miss Rives might effect a great improvement if she were willing to try again. A colleague of mine suggests that if she is minded to produce a sequel the title is ready to hand. Call it, "Oh, hell, Monday!"

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

In Early Issues of The Nation
"E. M. Forster." By Lionel Trilling
Reviewed by Morton Dauwen Zabel
Aeneas and Augustine
An Essay by Robert Fitzgerald

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IN BRIEF

THE ARABS: A SHORT HISTORY. By Philip K. Hitti. Princeton University Press. $2.

This is an abridgment of the author's unparalleled master work, "History of the Arabs," by Byron Dexter in collaboration with the author. As the book is marked on its cover "for Americans," it is probably intended for readers whose relatives are just now stationed in Arab lands. It should be read, however, by everybody who is interested in the origins of our Western civilization. Few people know that medieval scholars found their way to Plato and Aristotle through Arab scholars. Hunavn-ibn-Ishaq translated Plato and Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates in an age when Charlemagne and his lords "dabbled in learning to write their names." Arabic civilization was at bottom Hellenized Aramaic and Iranian knowledge, but it was exactly the influx of these ideas after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs which brought the beginning of the end of the so-called Dark Ages. From the sixteenth century on the Arab East was in a state of eclipse. During the Ottoman domination Damascus and Bagdad receded into the background. An Arab national movement started in the eighteen seventies, and since it feeds not only on the glory of the past, when "warriors of Allah" built an empire vaster than the Roman, but on the fact that fifty million people speak the Arabic language, this movement, like all nationalist activities of the East, will offer a serious post-war problem. Hitti's brilliant little book facilitates its understanding and furnishes evidence of the old truth that history is not necessarily a dull science. Historians are sometimes bores, but Hitti is certainly not.

ALASKA DIARY: 1926-1931. By Ales Hrdlicka. The Jaques Cattell Press. $5.

Although the purpose of Dr. Hrdlicka's four expeditions to central and western Alaska was to obtain scientific confirmation, by means of the collection and examination of craniums and skeletons in old burials, of the migration of the primitive inhabitants of America from Asia, this chronicle of his journeys along the Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Nushagak rivers is primarily an informal account of his experiences with the country and its people. The daily notes of which the book is composed, although confessedly without "pretense to any literary value, nor to any other virtue aside from reality," are none the less too meager, as their observations are rather too attenuated, to give more than a hint of the larger perceptions which to the exploring imagination constitute the meaning, if not the virtue, of reality. For the casual layman this qualification may limit the interest of the book, but it is well worth reading for descriptions of places seldom visited, for stories of hardships endured and hospitalities enjoyed, for Dr. Hrdlicka's abundant sympathies, and, most important, for its rare accuracy.

THIS AGE OF CONFLICT. A Contemporary World History, 1914-1943. By Frank P. Chambers, Christina Phelps Grant, and Charles C. Bayley. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.50.

This long survey of international events from the First World War to the present concerns itself chiefly with political trends and treaties, military campaigns, and men of destiny. It contains a number of suggestive analyses: of the post-war temper, fascism in Italy, the forces which made for Nazism, and the philosophy of appeasement. These sections are all too brief. The authors would have done well to treat with similar concern other matters bearing on the world situation—for example, the labor movements and left-wing political parties in the various countries. The Russian Revolution, certainly, warrants a more thoughtful evaluation than they have accorded it. "Public" reactions to governmental policies are insufficiently qualified. Mr. Chambers's skilled pen raises the volume considerably above the level of a textbook, however, and his collaborators have helped make it one of the most comprehensive reviews of the past quarter-century at present available.

WE CAN WIN THIS WAR. By Colonel W. F. Kernan. Little, Brown and Company. $1.50.

Even those who were impressed by "Defense Will Not Win the War" will probably agree that, so far, Colonel Kernan is a one-book man. In this rather platitudinous afterthought, apparently written in order to cash in on the success of the first, the author chiefly repeats his previous doctrines. There are a few interesting asides, such as a defense of the Pearl Harbor commanders, Short and Kimmel, and a condemnation of the Guadalcanal venture. Feeling that modern armies need an idea, an intellectual faith, Colonel Kernan provides one. Victory must see a return to Christian democracy, and his last paragraph advises us thus: "As we advance the colors against the new paganism, let us repeat the creed of the ancient Christendom [a period of democracy]: "Credo in unum Deum, Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum. . . ." Alas, not all of our troops understand Latin.

COAL DUST ON THE FIDDLE. By George Korson. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.50.

A collection of the ballads and stories of the soft-coal miner interspersed with a great deal of highly valuable material on the history of the industry. Mr. Korson knows his camps and mines; he visited scores of them from Nova Scotia, where the workers follow veins five miles out under the Atlantic, to Harlan, Coal Creek, and Ludlow. The songs themselves are not so interesting as the account Mr. Korson gives us of the daily life of the miner, his play and courtship, his folklore, his superstitions (when a woman visits a mine, disaster follows), his diseases, hazards, and tragedies. On these subjects he writes feelingly and with authority. Too few of the ballads are scored, but the book is otherwise carefully documented.

RECORDS

HAVING mentioned the idea of record company executives that record criticism should be written from the viewpoint of the large number of people with poor ears and poor machines, not from the viewpoint of the expert with good ears and a good machine, I should go on to say that a similar idea has grown up more generally in recent years about all writing on music. In the old days it was thought that an editor or publisher should publish the writing of a man who could give his readers the benefit of insight, judgment, and taste greater than theirs, making them aware of what they could not perceive themselves. But recently there has grown up the idea that the right man to talk about music to the ordinary person is the one with no more insight, judgment, or taste than the person he is writing for. That is the way some of the men who have begun to write music reviews and books recently have justified their writing, and I have noted that their judgment and taste were as undistinguished as they claimed, but

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that this did not make the writing profitable.

As for Beecham's difficulty in understanding the American record company mind, I have learned that only a very few artists have the clause in their contract that gives them the right to veto a recording they consider defective—the few being of course those who can compel the companies to give it to them. And I have been told that it was because Beecham did not have this clause in his contract that he got into his difficulty with Columbia and in the end had to give up his law-suit. It may be that he didn't have the clause in his contract with English Columbia either; if so it was probably because he didn't need it—because a company which produced those beautiful English recordings of his performances of Mozart and Delius and Tchaikovsky would not have wanted to issue a recording which he considered defective. After this he must have found it difficult to understand and deal with a company which, having produced a bad recording of Sibelius's Seventh, insisted on issuing it when he objected to it, and which continued to sell it and feature it in its advertising even after he had repudiated it publicly—to say nothing of the statement that he didn't know anything about recording.

From this we can see that it isn't only Beecham who is baffled by the American record company mind; the American record company executives are no less baffled and exasperated by attitudes like Beecham's. Years ago I accounted for the enormous superiority, at the time, of British broadcasting of music over American by the fact that in England broadcasting was run by men who because music meant a great deal to them could therefore understand and believe that it meant a great deal to others, whereas here broadcasting was run by business, advertising, and publicity men to whom music meant nothing and who therefore could not understand or believe that it meant anything to anyone else. So with recording: the men who run the business of recording in this country are utterly unable to understand what music means to someone like Beecham or Toscanini, how it sounds in his mind, how it must sound to his ear; and they are baffled when they produce a recording that will sell, and he objects to it or, if it is Toscanini, refuses to permit its sale, merely because the reproduced sound is muddy or badly balanced or mixed with noises from bad processing. That is why so few recordings of Toscanini's performances have come out recently; and though we have the means of preserving the performances of one of the most extraordinary musicians of all time, we may in the end be left with only a handful of recordings, and even some of these defective.

But if the record company mind is baffled and angered by these attitudes in a celebrated musician like Beecham or Toscanini, how can it understand similar attitudes in a mere music critic, who should be grateful for the expensive records he is sent gratis, and who instead complains that the reproduced sound is muddy or badly balanced or mixed with noises from bad processing?

I have recently received the latest of the letters that have arrived from time to time inquiring when Columbia was going to issue the new Beecham-London Philharmonic recording of Mozart's Symphony K. 338, about which there have been rumors for more than a year. But I would like to know myself; and I would like to know also what it is that causes both Victor and Columbia, when there is such a shortage of materials and labor, to waste them on some of the things they have been issuing instead of using them for some of the things they have not issued—what it is, for example, that has led Columbia to use them not for Beecham's recording of the Mozart Symphony but for Henry Cowell's "Tales of Our Countryside" (Set X-225, $2.50), about which nobody has written me inquiries. The music is not worth anyone's attention; it seems to be performed adequately, as far as I can judge, by Cowell with the All-American Orchestra under Stokowski; the recorded sound of the orchestra is unclear and unclean; the surfaces of my copy are noisy and defective.

Columbia's other July offering is Schumann's song-cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben" (Set 539, $3.50). The music is for the most part rather poor; but this is concealed by Lehmann's superb singing of it. On the other hand Bruno Walter, in his piano accompaniments, carries his sentimentalizing to the point where rhythm and phraseological contour are destroyed; and as it happens his postlude on the last side is made even worse on my copy by a terrific wavering in pitch. The recorded sound of Lehmann's voice is good; the surfaces of my copy are extremely noisy and defective.

The Eulenburg miniature scores are now being printed in England, and are being imported by the Edward B. Marks Music Corporation. The catalogue includes thus far the standard symphonies Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, and Brahms, some of their concertos and chamber music, the Brandenburg Concertos of Bach, and a few unusual items like Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 453 and Violin Concerto K. 216, Wolf's Italian Serenade, Sibelius's Violin Concerto. Since they are printed in England I wondered about the paper, which is white and substantial; and I asked a musician who had had some experience with them how they stood up. He answered that the paper of his scores had got yellow and begun to disintegrate; but he reminded me that the Eulenburg scores had been printed on cheap paper even in Germany. It seems to me that the opportunity to get to know Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453 as one can by following the score while one listens to the records is worth the price of the score even if it begins to disintegrate after a couple of years.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

CARL CROW is an American advertising man who has maintained close contact with the Philippines for thirty years. During twenty-six years in Shanghai he made frequent trips to Manila. He is acquainted with Filipino exiles in this country, and since the war has listened regularly to the Tokyo radio. Beyond these, his sources of information cannot be revealed. His books include "America and the Philippines," "Japan and America," "400,000,000 Customers," and "The Chinese Are Like That."

VICTOR RIESEL is labor editor of the New York *Post*.

ANDRE MAROSELLI, senator for the Haute-Saône under the Republic, was in France until five months ago, when he escaped to England. He is now in this country on a mission for the French Committee of National Liberation.

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Letters to the Editors

Washington Gestapo

Dear Sirs: Perhaps you would like to record, as a footnote to Washington Gestapo by XXX in *The Nation* of July 17, an experience of a friend of mine with a Civil Service investigator.

The investigator was interrogating my friend with reference to the "character" of a Mr. Smith when he happened to notice a framed copy of the Bill of Rights on the wall over my friend's desk.

There was an awkward pause in the conversation while old Hawkshaw studied the offending instrument. Then, with a sweep of his pencil toward it and a suspicious glare in his eye, he turned to my friend.

"Who," he demanded, "is putting that stuff out?"

For reasons as valid in my case as in that of Mr. XXX, I trust it will suffice to sign this— YYY

Alexandria, Va., July 19

Is It True?

Dear Sirs: I have sent the following letter to the Honorable Harry B. Mitchell of the Civil Service Commission and a similar communication to J. Edgar Hoover. I thought you might be interested. EMANUEL CELLER

New York, July 20

My dear Mr. Mitchell: I have before me and read with interest an article entitled Washington Gestapo written by XXX. The editors of *The Nation* state in their issue of July 17 that the author has deemed it necessary to guard his anonymity with especial care. These editors vouchsafe the statements of the anonymous writer.

I am asking you for your reaction to this article. The article outlines a series of questions which, if actually presented in that fashion, present a serious situation which warrants investigation. I, of course, know nothing of the authenticity of these charges.

To quote a few of these questions: "How often does he read *PM?*" "Has he ever criticized the Dies committee?" "Is it true that he reads *The Nation* and the *New Republic?*" "Does he talk a lot against the poll tax?" I personally could be placed in any of these categories. It is also charged that another question is, "Why do you suppose he has hired so many Jews?"

It is stated that the source book was "The Red Network" by Elizabeth Dilling, now under federal indictment on the charge of sedition.

I was most vigorous in my denunciation of the activities of the Dies committee and the Kerr committee with reference to the ouster of Watson, Lovett, etc. Unquestionably, there was a violation of the Constitution, as the bar sinister placed upon these men involves lynch law and bill of attainder. As I understand it, the only real charge in these cases was regarded as "subversive by association." . . .

Because one may be a friend of a friend who in turn is a friend of one who is actually subversive is no reason for placing a stigma on the first individual in the chain. This is a new method of indictment and punishment devised by reactionary groups.

Mind you, I do not accuse any of your investigators of these practices. I do not know the facts.

I ask you that you read this article and let me have your reaction as soon as your convenience may be served.

I mean to follow this matter up most closely.

Write to Your Senator

Dear Sirs: I have just written to Senator Wagner calling his attention to Washington Gestapo and have asked him to investigate the conditions.

JULIAN LOEBENSTEIN

New York, July 19

It's a Lie

Dear Sirs: The article Washington Gestapo must be regarded by unprejudiced readers with a little suspicion. Civil Service and FBI investigators may be fascists, as your writer alleges, but they cannot be complete morons.

In America today an investigator does not say, "Does his face light up when the Red Army is mentioned?" "How often does he read *PM?*" "Is he always criticizing Vichy France?" "Did you ever hear him whistle the Communist Internationale?" People in America, in government service or out, simply do not speak like that. If your writer has met such an investigator he is a unique exception to be used as humorous relief in fiction and not in a serious article.

I do not believe that "'no government employee is safe from such an obscene attack on the elemental decencies." *In fact, I can tell you that this is a damned lie;* men returning from two and three years' service in Washington have never heard of FBI investigations in their departments. OTTO S. MAYER

New York, July 17

. . . Last Refuge of a Scoundrel

Dear Sirs: Washington Gestapo confirms from a much larger experience than mine what has impressed me about investigators who have called on me for character references for men entering the armed services. This is a small community, with an unusual proportion of men who have sought commissions. I have been frankly amazed at the nature of the questions asked, both by the FBI directly and by credit-company men to whom they have turned over some names.

"Have you any reason to doubt his loyalty or patriotism?" begins the list. Any "radical" association is looked into. Any possible leaning toward "advanced ideas" is questioned. Some of the men, of the gentlest manners and address, have left me with the impression that they must have trained in a brokerage firm, and that the man they were willing to approve must be one of many generations of rock-ribbed Republicans of the New England variety. There is a hiatus between their questions, if not their thinking, and the fact that we are associated with the U. S. S. R. in a military way, in an effort to undermine the fascism in other countries, and this hiatus is reflected in their inquiries about candidates for commissions.

My mystification was made complete when this demand for a "character reference" about one man elicited from me the unasked-for information that while his patriotism was undoubted, he was irresponsible in two important regards, which I specified. "We are not interested in that so much, Doctor," was the reply. "We want to know only about his patriotism." So if the man is a scoundrel, is it all right? And what is the use of references?

MERRILL F. CLARKE

New Canaan, Conn., July 20

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Who Killed Carlo Tresca?

Dear Sirs: Six months have passed since Carlo Tresca was murdered.

If the humblest of Tresca's thousands of comrades and fellow-workers for the advancement of human welfare as he saw it had been murdered in like manner, his murderers would long since have been apprehended and convicted through Tresca's efforts, because Tresca had the knowledge, the tireless energy, and the single devotion which we, his friends, woefully lack. The war, the general confusion and moral breakdown, his own multiplicity of interests would not have been permitted to interfere with his pursuit of the murderers. He would have pushed his way through closed doors, and cut his way through official barriers.

Many of his friends feel that the manner of his death was such as he himself not only expected but would have preferred. But he would wish that it be made immediately and surely a symbol and a banner for the carrying on of the fight as he saw it. Instead, the banner is muddied, bedraggled by uncertainty, confusion, and inertia. This is the great tragedy. Sacco, Vanzetti, Matteoti, even the Roselli brothers and Berneri—at least their murderers are known, if not officially acknowledged. Carlo Tresca's death will prove, I believe, to have had even greater significance in relation to the present world crisis than these others, and if the instigators of the murder could be revealed now, immediately, there might be some hope that the ensuing scandal would necessitate the cleaning up of some of the messier aspects of our European policy.

Let us hope that Tresca's friends and admirers may get together, organize a pressure group, hold mass-meetings, hammer at official doors, rouse the apathetic before it is too late—and a courageous, glowing, extraordinarily alive person doomed to die a double death.

MARGARET DESILVER

Wellfleet, Mass., July 18

Objection

Dear Sirs: I made a solemn resolve long ago that I would not write to the editor criticizing any review of my book, "Economic Freedom." But I cannot resist quoting the following sentence from the review by Abba P. Lerner which appeared in your issue of July 3:

> A related confusion appears when private enterprise is simultaneously accused of (a) too little investment out of tenderness for the capital values, belonging to the same corporation, that would be destroyed by the new investment, and (b) too much investment because of lack of concern for the capital values of other corporations, in the preservation of which capital values, it is wrongly claimed, society has a vested interest.

—and the following sentences from page 87 of the book:

> Society as a whole has a vested interest in every existing plant at least to the extent of the labor and materials which have gone into it, and there is no sense building a new plant unless it is so much better than the one it replaces that the ultimate saving justifies scrapping what has already been built. A paradox of the present situation is that while old plants and processes are too often allowed to outlive their economic usefulness, valuable machines and skills are frequently forced into the discard by changes which have no real economic justification.

I don't get it. Who's confused?

The reviewer also says, "Perhaps it was a little unfair to give this book to an economist to review." In the preface I wrote, "I have therefore written this book as an attempt to face economic problems in terms of political reality."

The review does not even mention the political problems to which the book was almost solely directed.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Washington, D. C., July 1

The Same Line

Dear Sirs: Shortly before the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway an avalanche of propaganda descended on Scandinavia. The Nazis told the Nordic nations that England wanted to involve them in the war and that the neutrality and independence of Northern Europe were threatened. At that very time the Nazi prison ship Altmark lay in Norwegian waters, and the invasion boats were ready to start.

After the invasion of Denmark and Norway, and after the Nazi divisions had established themselves permanently in Finland, Quisling's own newspaper, *Fritt Folk* (*Free People*), declared that England was now threatening Sweden and trying to drag it into the war. The same tune is still being played in the *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, the newspaper of the German occupation forces. This is Goebbels's and Ribbentrop's official propaganda line; the free Norwegians and the Free Danes are only too familiar with it.

To my vast astonishment I recently discovered this same line in an American newspaper. It was not written by Quisling, not published in a German newspaper; it originated in our very midst. I quote:

> SWEDEN'S NEUTRALITY
>
> The British are attempting to dislodge Sweden from her position of neutrality. But Sweden hesitates. *Every nation that has aided Britain has been precipitated into the war.* Take a lesson from the Irish. They've remained neutral and are at peace with the world. They're neither pro-German nor pro-British. They're pro-Irish. They have an "Irish First" policy.

This appeared in the May issue of an ostensibly religious newspaper, *Bible News Flashes*, published in Minneapolis.

Nazi propaganda is daily hammering away at Sweden that "England wants to get you into the war." Nazi propaganda supported the isolationist Ireland First and America First policies. *Bible News Flashes* is edited by the Reverend W. D. Herrstrom, a Swedish-American.

In the same issue Herrstrom wrote of the Jewish problem:

> Rabbi Wise wants to bring 2,000,000 Jews from Central Europe to the United States. Why not send them right next door into Soviet Russia. All the Jews I know in this country (except a few genuinely converted Christian Jews) are in favor of the Communist regime. In fact, too many of them seem to think it is superior to our American system of free enterprise and Christian liberty. Asiatics usually fit into an Asiatic or Eurasian regime much better than they fit into our American system. After all, it's next to impossible to ever make Americans adopt Asiatic ideas or Asiatic business methods.

It seems to me that I have heard this tone before—in every issue of Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.

Reverend Herrstrom grieved for Father Coughlin and lamented the indictment of thirty-three pro-fascists in Washington.

KURT SINGER

New York, June 14

Good News

Dear Sirs: In a review of Dr. Sturmthal's "Tragedy of European Labor" I said that the Communist Party had opposed President Roosevelt's desire to limit salaries to $25,000. Mr. Earl Browder informs me that I am mistaken. I make this correction with considerable relief.

RALPH BATES

New York, July 21

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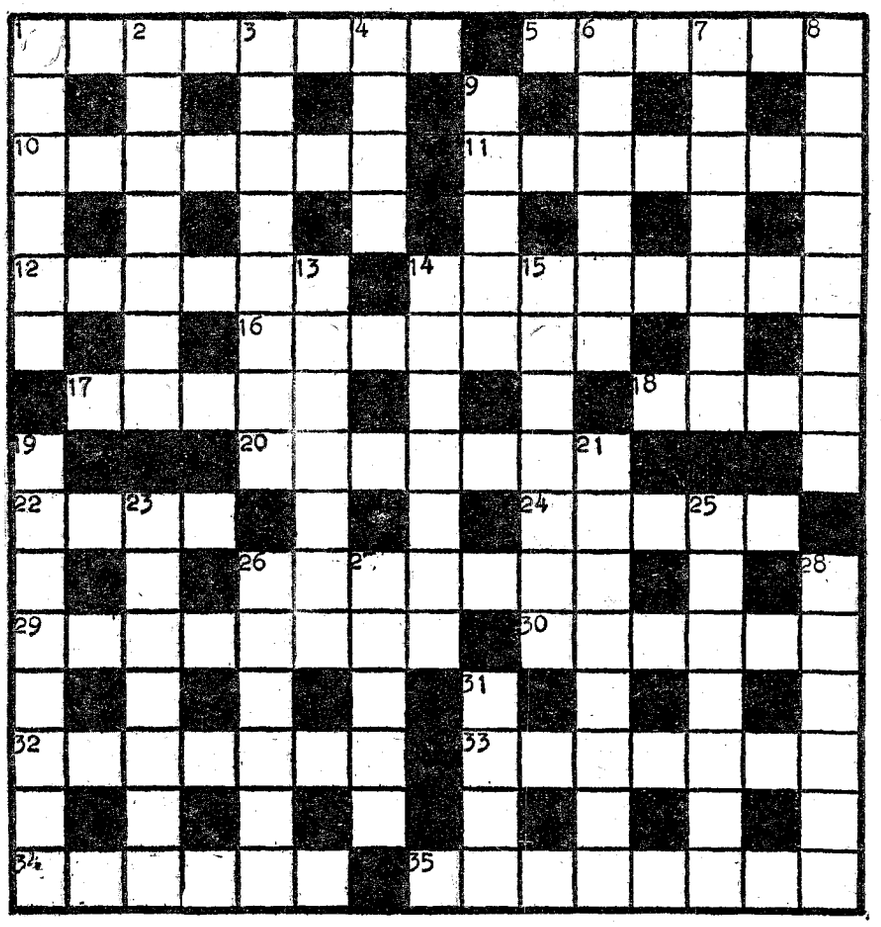
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 23

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Nebuchadnezzar's attitude in respect of vegetarianism (two words, 3 and 5)
5 You must be very cold if frozen to it
10 Many on trial in a match
11 Shorten the way across
12 The last place from which one would expect to get bleats!
14 Taken in
16 Would any parent think of giving a boy this name?
17 They head chapters
18 Back yard
20 Easily led
22 Bound to be wanting in a beheaded coon
24 Nigel is put in the corner
26 Always in the red, apparently, but venerated on the whole
29 The bullfighter delivers an unfinished statement
30 Dark suit, more suggestive of evening than mourning
32 Country to which the world owes so much
33 Qualified, with or without the headgear
34 Don't race over this course!
35 Undisguised

DOWN

1 Entry
2 Those who boast of it really had very little say in it
3 No sea route
4 Piratical maid-of-all-work in the operetta
6 Corresponds without writing
7 Russian Army organ (two words, 3 and 4)
8 Monday through Saturday (two words, 4 and 4)
9 Native who looks like either mother or myself
13 This is certain in the end
14 No heart can produce a second one
15 Comes back with some bantering remarks
19 Not a contest between awful duffers (two words, 4 and 4)
21 Book page which is never read
23 A dog mutilated isn't the sort of thing a poor swimmer wants to contend with
25 Female insect?
26 It could be vainer
27 A politician is nothing if not this
28 Rise, as a perfume
31 Unbleached linen

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 22

ACROSS:—1 RUSTIC; 4 CHIVALRY; 10 DONKEYS; 11 CORYDON; 12 CALF'S; 13 INS; 14 SCENE; 15 NASAL; 17 APPLAUSE; 21 UPPER TEN; 23 TOWER; 26 UHLAN; 28 SIS; 29 MINDS; 30 BITTERN; 31 ENTITLE; 32 BUCHANAN; 33 SHANKS'.

DOWN:—1 REDUCING; 2 SINGLES; 3 IDEAS; 5 HOCUS; 6 VIRUS; 7 LODGERS; 8 YANKEE; 9 ASPIRANT; 16 LEE; 18 PUNISHED; 19 ART; 20 DRESSERS; 22 POLITIC; 24 WINSTON; 25 HUBBUB; 27 NEELA; 28 SENNA; 29 MATCH

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